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Co-Operation Means
Co-Prosperity

Nippon Times

The Die Is Cast,
Fight to the Last

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DEFEAT FACES PLAN OF ANTI-AXIS UNITS TO RETRIEVE BURMA

Anglo-American Forces Still Cling to Dream of Retaking Chiang-Aid Route

JAPAN FULLY PREPARED

Second 'Tragedy of Arakan' Forecast—Ominous Clouds Hover Over India

Japan is fully prepared to meet the enemy's counter-offensive for the recapture of Burma and smash the enemy force into a bloody pulp at one single blow, Domei's commentator stated Sunday.

Clinging to the dream of recapturing the Burma Route and killing three birds with one stone, namely, strengthen the U.S. air force in Chungking, revitalize Chungking's fast dwindling fighting strength and tighten the defense of India, the enemy has been engineering to launch a major counter-offensive against Burma.

This tendency has been particularly noticeable since the Quebec Conference, as is attested by the appointment of Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten as the Commander of the anti-Axis forces in southeastern Asia.

With the cutting off of the Chiang-aiding route as a sequel to the reduction of Burma, Chungkings fighting strength was whittled down rapidly, thus dealing a severe blow to the enemy who had been planning raids on the Japanese mainland with the Chinese Continent as the base.

Set Up Plans

Driven into this plight, America, Britain and Chungking set up joint plans of operation for the recapture of Burma. In August last year, America and Britain hurriedly replenished their air forces in India and unleashed frequent air raids with the object of disrupting the rear of the supply lines of the Imperial Forces at guard on the Indian-Burmese border. Simultaneously, the enemy's land forces went into activity and attempted a counter-offensive by mobilizing the 14th and 26th divisions, the mainstay of the British 15th army in India and eight brigades, totalling 40,000 strong. A spirited engagement was unfolded along the Mayu river. With the Imperial Forces putting up gallant and wellplanned fighting the enemy's desperate counterattack only resulted in his exhaustion. On May 14, the Imperial Forces occupied Maungdaw, the enemy's stronghold, and the enemy's frantic attempt at the recapture of the Burma Route ended in the "Tragedy of Arakan."

Not knowing better, however, the Anglo-Americans are still bent on retaking the Burma Route by driving Chungking to the forefront of attack against Japan and by trying to strengthen their air bases.

Elated over the occupation of Sicily, the anti-Axis camp has been vaunting a general counter-offensive in East Asia. Side by side with the strenuous grapple now going on in the South Pacific, America has been trying desperately to strengthen her air bases in the Chungking-occupied areas with a view to effecting air raids on the Japanese mainland.

Making Futile Raids

At the same time, the American air force in China under the command of Major-General Claire Chennault has been making minor air raids on Canton, Hongkong, Hankow and French Indo-China, but these infestations have invariably been repulsed by Imperial units and have only served to add to attrition.

Convinced that the Chinese Continent is the best stronghold for attack on the Japanese mainlands, the enemy, not knowing better by their miserable defeats, are bent on strengthening his air bases in China. Herein lies the significance of the enemy's frantic counter-offensive against Burma, especially when it is remembered that, in the past, some 10,000 tons of aircraft, gasoline and other munitions were transported to Chungking by 6,000 to 7,000 trucks over the Burma Route every month.

The re-taking of this route would enable the enemy to kill three birds with one stone—strengthen the American air forces in China, revitalize Chungking's fighting power and tighten the defense of India as Britain's supply base. The current situation in India and the recent organization of the Indian Independence Army under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose are most ominous developments to Britain.

The fact that the enemy declared

(Continued on Page 2)

Western Borneo Makes Big Strides In Various Industrial Activities

Islanders Diligently Developing Prewar Industries Under Japanese Administration to Reconstruct New Land of Paradise for Asiatics

Remarkable progress is omnipresent in Western Borneo today for under the Japanese Military Administration, the island, playing a vital cog in the wheel of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, is vigorously developing various phases of industry, finance, administration, education and culture, according to a Domei correspondent describing the latest developments in his dispatch from Pontianak.

The salient points of his inspection tour are as follows:

Resurrection of cities.

The first impression one receives in entering Pontianak is the peaceful aspects of the city without a trace of the effects of the current war. The Chinese, who comprise the greater half of the city population and the native inhabitants actively and contently carry on their business. The devastating effects of the war were seen only in the destruction of the harbor, bridges and copra oil extracting plants by the fleeing Dutch soldiers, but these damaged spots are fast being restored to their former condition.

The oil extracting plant, taking over all the copra supply in western Borneo, is now operating at full capacity. Copra oil is being used as fuel for buses and ships, and further experiments are being conducted to find other means of utilizing the product. It is worthy of note that hard quality laundry soap is being manufactured by a mixture of the juice of the outer skin of the coconut and copra oil. This soap factory was established after the outbreak of the war and production is already X X tons per month, an amount more than sufficient to meet the soap demand in all of Borneo. Also some of the soap is being shipped as far as Shonan.

Abundant supplies of textiles and other everyday commodities stock the Chinese stores lining the streets and foodstuffs are plentiful, too. The morning market hustles and bustles with merchants and customers. What was most surprising was that whether we peeped into Chinese or Indian stores, we were greeted by the clerks in fluent Japanese. All were extremely friendly to the Japanese.

We paid a visit to the chieftain's dwelling across the river. As it happened we had made our appearance on a night of a wedding, lavish was the welcome extended to us.

At the present, a Japanese provincial administrator and a Japanese police director are supervising each of the various provinces in West Borneo. Under their capable management, the Military Administration is efficiently and thoroughly applied in the local districts, insuring peace and order. Under this administrative set-up, the Chinese nationals are progressively cooperating with the Indonesians in commerce and production, and are reviving the various projects that had been discontinued.

Reconstruction:

The bountiful underground resources are being mined and the virgin forests utilized to furnish valuable lumber for the shipbuilding industry. Tanning factories are being constructed and numerous other progressive strides have been and are being made in a vigorous march toward reconstruction.

With the development of coastal and river navigation, the marine transportation has been greatly advanced, and with the construction of roads and highways, a network of bus routes now radiates from Pontianak to the remotest districts.

Culture and Education:

Battling against the shortage of necessary text books and instructors, public schools and vocational institutions have been reopened and more and larger education schools established. Japanese language schools are being built and are contributing to the introduction of Japanese culture in these areas.

The construction of a broadcasting station is scheduled to be completed within this month. For the enlightenment of the inhabitants in the hinterlands, publicity corps with interesting newsreels and entertaining Japanese pictures have just completed a month of tour in the remote areas and have returned to Pontianak.

BRITISH ARMY PARTY TO VISIT SOUTH AREA

Lethbridge, Head of Mission, Avers Main Strength Set Against Nippon Forces

Domei

LISBON, September 3.—En route to the South Pacific war front, Major-General J. S. Lethbridge, head of the British Military, Air and Naval Mission, with American officers, arrived at San Francisco from Washington D. C. where he declared that Britain will deploy her "maximum possible forces" against Japan upon the conclusion of the European war, according to reports received here today.

Obviously ignoring deliberately the war preparations made against the Japanese in concert with the United States, the Netherlands and Chungking prior to the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, Lethbridge said, "We have even more to pay back Japan than you Americans. We were stabbed in the back while fighting for our very lives and were no more prepared than you were. We will produce every man, plane and gun that can be deployed against Japan. You can be sure of that."

Both Rear-Admiral Gonelden and Air-Commander MacLean, members of the Lethbridge mission, emphasized that the Pacific warfare was different in character from that of the European and the Mediterranean zones due to the tremendous distances and long lines of communications involved.

SEES AUSTRALIAN PREMIER

Mrs. Roosevelt Gets Special Message From Curtin for President

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, September 4.—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, wife of the United States President, conferred with Australian Prime Minister John Curtin today in Canberra, according to reports from that city. It is reported that a special message to Roosevelt was entrusted by Curtin to Mrs. Roosevelt.

Mrs. Roosevelt also had an interview with William Hughes, former Australian War Minister.

BIG-SCALE REVOLT IN INDIA FORESEEN

Indians Throughout Asia Burn With Eager Resolve to Free Motherland

Domei

SHANGHAI, September 4.—"Once the Indian National Army makes a thrust into the mother country, a revolution is bound to break out and all the Indian soldiers in British service will walk off to our side," declared Subhas Chandra Bose's special envoy, Lieutenant-Colonel A. D. Lozianadan, now visiting China with the mission of arousing the Indian residents there, in a statement issued to newspaper men here today.

The Indian officer's statement, in gist, follows:

"Now that the Indian National Army has been organized in Shonan by Indians themselves, the Indians throughout Asia are showing a powerful resolve to join the army. Now is the time for us to rise and right the wrongs imposed on India by Britain.

"Once the National Army makes a thrust into the mother country, a revolution is bound to break out and all the Indian soldiers in British service will walk off to our side. Our fellow revolutionists in India will also rise.

"In addition to the National Army, we already have the Women's Volunteer Army and the Women's Red Cross Corps.

"This is the first time for the Indians to rise in arms. We will stick to the cause of India's independence, the building up of Greater East Asia and the creation of a new world order—a cause to which all the members of the National Army from Commander-in-Chief Subhas Chandra Bose down are wedded."

22 British Planes Lost

Domei

LISBON, September 4.—The British air forces bombed Berlin on the night of September 3 and it is reported that 1,000 tons of bomb were dropped. In this connection the British Air Ministry today announced the loss of 22 planes, according to a report from London.

GENERAL HO WAILS OVER DIFFICULTIES OF FIGHTING JAPAN

Warns British Ambassador Seymour Nippon's Strength Cannot Be Belittled

SEVEN PLANES DOWNED

Mopping-up Operations in Hainan Island Progressing Smoothly

Domei

CANTON, September 4.—A warning against belittling Japan's fighting strength and the tocsin that unpredictable difficulties lie ahead of the anti-Axis counter-offensive in the South Pacific were sounded by General Ho Ying-ching, chief-of-staff of the Chungking army, at a tea party held on Friday in commemoration of the fourth anniversary of the outbreak of the second European war, according to a broadcast from Chungking.

The tea party was attended by Sir Horace James Seymour, British Ambassador to Chungking, his wife, British military representatives in Chungking and others, numbering about 30.

General Ho's warning was to the following effect:

"We offer unstinted praises for the perseverence of the British people against innumerable sacrifices during the past four years. We murt remember, however, that in the current war situation, defeat of Germany would not mean Japan's surrender. None can say that Japan is less dangerous than Germany to the anti-Axis camp.

"There should be no belittlement of Japan's national strength. Unpredictable difficulties lie ahead of the current anti-Axis counter-offensive against Japan's Co-Prosperity Sphere defense lines in the South Pacific. We are called upon to overcome those difficulties at all costs.

The warning poured cold water on the tea party, as it was an expression of Chungking's dissatisfaction with Britain.

7 Planes Downed

Domei

HANKOW, September 4.—Imperial Naval Forces downed seven P-40 fighter planes and heavily damaged four other planes of the American air units in China since the first part of June in the mid-Yangtze River area, the Press Corps of the Imperial Naval Forces here announced today.

The announcement added that during this time only slight casualties were suffered by our side.

Mop-up Successful

Domei

HAIHOW, HAINAN, September 4.—Cleaning-up operations in Hainan by the Japanese Naval Corps are progressing smoothly and the following results were gained during August by the Japanese Forces stationed on the island.

The number of dead left in the fields: 494.

The number of enemy surrendering: 780.

Captured arms: rifles 112, revolvers 56, explosives 2,427 packages, hand grenades 145, junks 4.

Italian Army Withdraws

Domei

ROME, September 4.—Italian forces withdrew from Peggio, San Giovanni and Melito, the Italian High Command officials disclosed today.

DEARTH OF LABORERS IN AMERICA SERIOUS; FARM HANDS LACKING

Agricultural Communities Ask Army for Help During Harvesting Season

SOLDIERS SENT TO FIELDS

63,500,000 People in U.S. Said To Be Gainfully Employed Today

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, September 4.—Another proof of the growing seriousness of labor shortage in the United States is given in the August 30 issue of the American magazine Time, which describes the acute dearth of farm labor.

In Camden, New Jersey, for instance, over 100 freight trains loaded to capacity with agricultural products are at a standstill due to lack of stevedore service, while 800 trucks with a load of 3,200 tons of tomatoes remain parked in a row four miles long along the roads awaiting unloading.

With the harvesting season close at hand, many agricultural communities are asking the Army for help in farm work. The military authorities at Fort Dix have decided to send about 1,000 troops to the farms. Large numbers of citizens are going out to help in farm work by taking advantage of the week-ends.

On the other hand, in certain districts, there is a surplus of farm labor. In Oklahoma, where there were floods in the spring and a draught in the summer, farmers in rapid succession are changing their jobs, and the Federal Employment Bureau in Oklahoma City are receiving an average of 35 applications daily from farmers for jobs.

In the state of Kansas, about 1,000 farmers have migrated to North Dakota under the Labor Exchange Agreement.

At Queen Ann, Maryland, farmers, uncertain of the future, have sold away 3,000 acres of farms and 370 head of cattle to change their jobs.

The Consultation Committee of the All-American Industrial Association reports, however, that the number of people gainfully employed as at the end of June was 63,500,000.

U.S. FEARS ATTACKS ON PACIFIC STATES

Sets Up Fire-Fighter Corps as Precaution

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, September 4.—Despite their vociferous propaganda of an offensive against Japan, the United States is seized with fear of the possibility of Japanese attack on the long-stretched, exposed coastline on the West coast. Scared over a bugbear since the Japanese bombardment of Oregon, the United States Government has reportedly organized large-scale Forest Fire-Fighter Corps.

Commenting on this Corps, the American press says to the following effect:

"The authorities of the Pacific States, especially Washington and Oregon, have organized Forest Fire-Fighter Corps in preparation against Japanese bombardment. The large forest areas in the northwestern part of the United States which play an important role in our conduct of war are liable to combustion and conflagration in the dry season in summer."

Constitution Drafted For New Philippines

Domei

MANILA, September 5.—At the preliminary session of the Philippine Independence Preparatory Committee held at 11:10 a.m. today, a draft Constitution of the Philippines was approved and signed by the committee members. The signing ended at 11:45 a.m. and the draft Constitution of the Philippines came into existence after over two-month deliberations. It is recalled that since the establishment of the Philippine Independence Preparatory Committee in June, the committee members had been striving for the drafting of the Constitution in accordance with the general will of the Filipinos. They completed their deliberations of the final draft on September 3.

AOKI COMPLETES TOUR OF CHINA, MANCHOUKUO; AMITY TIES TIGHTENED

AXIS FORCES BLAST INVADERS OF ITALY

No Large-Scale Engagements Seen Due to Rugged Topography of Land

TWO TRANSPORTS SMASHED

16 Enemy Aircraft Shot Down In Furious Aerial Combats

Domei

BERLIN, September 4.—The anti-Axis forces have successively made vigorous attempts to land reinforcements in Italy, but the German rear guards have doggedly frustrated the enemy attempts, allowing only a portion of the enemy troops to succeed in their landing, reports Karl Pragner, D.N.B. war correspondent.

The substance of his report follows:

1. The anti-Axis troops have made subsequent landings in Italy. The enemy forces that landed were composed of the First Canadian Infantry Division and the Sixth British Tank Division.

The landing attempts were repeatedly made at a point north of Reggio in the Scilla sector but the German rear guards repelled the enemy forces, setting the landing barges aflame before they were able to reach land. In these attempts, the British forces in particular suffered heavy losses.

Although a portion of the enemy forces was able to land, there is no possibility that large scale engagements will be staged due to the rugged topography and the lack of roads in this area.

2. The inactivity of the American forces in Sicily should be noted. The American forces had launched attacks against the German defense units in the Sicilian campaign, and also carried assaults against the right wing of the same German units, but due to the losses suffered in the operations, the American forces are now seemingly exhausted.

Observers believe that the American forces are now being strengthened for offensives in new areas. With large amount of shipping bottoms and transportation facilities being marshalled at the ports in Tunisia, it is rumored that the American forces will start new operations from these bases with the cooperation of the rebel French forces.

3. German pursuit and fighter planes assaulted the enemy troops that attempted to land at a point north of Reggio yesterday and scored numerous direct hits on the enemy landing barges.

The German planes sank a 3,000-ton transport and damaged another vessel of the 5,000-ton class.

Furthermore, the Reich planes sprayed the enemy forces gathered along the coastal highway with furious machinegun fires.

Italian Communique

Domei

ROME, September 4.—The newest developments in the war situation in southern Italy were officially announced by the Italian High Command at noon today in gist as follows:

After bombarding the Italian coast along Calaria Province from the batteries in Sicily and from warships, the anti-Axis troops established bridgeheads at several points with the aid of their air units.

With the collaboration of the air units, the defense forces systematically deployed from Beggio, San Giovanni and Melito after inflicting heavy damages to the anti-Axis forces.

Anti-Axis planes bombed several cities in Naples Province, including Salerno and Samona, but the Axis planes engaged the enemy units in furious engagements and downed 16 enemy planes and heavily damaged five other enemy machines.

Three-Pronged Drive

Domei

LISBON, September 4.—The anti-Axis forces that occupied three cities on the western coast of Calabria Province have divided into three units and seem to be continuing their advances. The announcement of the Headquarters of the anti-Axis forces in North Africa stated that the war was expanding, but encounters

(Continued on Page 2)

Back From Continent

Kazuo Aoki

DAILY MAIL SCORES POWWOW IN QUEBEC

Avers Meeting Ended With 'Undisguisable Note of Frustration'

Domei

LISBON, September 3.—The recent Quebec Conference ended with an "undisguisable note of flatness and frustration," declared the London Daily Mail in its August 28 issue reaching here today. The paper added, "In both Britain and America there was disappointment, bewilderment and vague feeling that politically something had gone wrong." It further said that this situation may be dispelled later However, the paper added, "Over all has hung the shadow of the Kremlin's mystery. Before the talks began the Soviets told the world very pointedly that the Soviet Union was not invited and that the character of the conference made it clear that her participation was not intended.

"In the middle of the talks the removal of Litvinov from Washington was announced. And the Soviet's non-participation was later explained by the fact that the conference was mainly concerned with the operations against Japan with whom the Soviets are at peace. This has seemed reasonable enough and sound but in all circumstances it is not surprising that suspicion has been widely aired that there is some kind of political fight between Britain and the United States on the one hand and the Soviets on the other. This suspicion further has been strengthened by other reports of a serious quarrel between the pro-Soviet Sumner Welles and his chief Cordell Hull.

"Out of this unhappy background a great deal of political capital is being made by Roosevelt's enemies and more cautiously by the more fervent admirers of the Soviet Union in this country."

Commenting on the present European situation the paper added that a general clearing of the air has become imperative and in this task the Soviets have got to offer some assistance.

The Daily Mail further stressed that the first political task of the anti-Axis nations is to call together the three Powers. Then to examine such differences which exist between each other and hammer out an agreement on the war strategy and the postwar policy. The Soviets in particular would do well to be less enigmatic."

ITALIANS FIGHTING HARD

Will Never Surrender to Invaders, Declare Editorials

Domei

ROME, September 4.—Editorials in all Italian papers this morning unanimously contended that the indomitable subjects of Italy will never yield to their invaders in commenting on the British landing in the Italian mainland.

The journals confidently declared that the dauntless Italian nationals will fight shoulder-to-shoulder with their gallant brethrens in Calabria Province and the Italian forces for the defense of their beloved homeland.

Visited Nanking, Shanghai, Tientsin and Other Cities

CONFERRED WITH WANG

Also Held Consultations With Premier Chang Ching-hui, Prince Teh

Minister of Greater East Asiatic Affairs Kazuo Aoki returned to Fukuoka at 12:30 p.m. Sunday from his inspection trip to China and Manchoukuo.

The Greater East Asiatic Affairs Minister had left to inspect the actual condition of the Chinese people under the new administration in North China and had successively visited Nanking, Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin and other cities. He had come in contact with the pulsating force of new China vigorously pushing ahead toward the reconstruction of the nation, which had been given a completely new turn with the National Government's participation in the current war.

Conferring with President Wang Ching-wei, Wang Keh-min, Chairman of North China Political Affairs Commission and other leaders of China, Minister Aoki had frankly stated Japanese policies for the development of New China and for the strengthening of the Sino-Japanese collaboration and there had been candid exchange of views. Also for the smooth working of Japan's concrete policies for Sino-Japanese cooperation for the consummation of the war in view of the new situation in China, conferences were held with the various military heads, both Army and Navy, in China. Enormous results were obtained in establishing new trends in the Sino-Japanese collaboration which has now entered the main stage.

The Greater East Asiatic Affairs Minister then visited Kalgan where he conferred with Prince Teh, Chairman of the Federated Autonomous Government of Mengchiang.

From Kalgan Minister Aoki proceeded to Manchoukuo. He respectfully paid his respects to His Majesty the Emperor of Manchoukuo. Also consultations were held with Premier Chang Ching-hui and other leaders of Manchoukuo. The aspects of progressing Manchoukuo were inspected in detail, and bonds of friendly Japan-Manchoukuo relations greatly strengthened.

With his mission for visiting China and Manchoukuo fulfilled, the Greater East Asiatic Affairs Minister returned to Japan Sunday, and in this connection the Board of Information made the following announcement on the same day:

"Board of Information Announcement (September 5, 12:30 p.m.)

"Completing his schedule of visit to China and Manchoukuo, Kazuo Aoki, Minister of Greater East Asiatic Affairs, returned to Fukuoka at 12:30 p.m. today."

ENVOY TANI MEETS MAYOR OF SHANGHAI

Reconstruction Work Set By City Discussed

Domei

SHANGHAI, September 4.—Japanese Ambassador to China, Masayuki Tani, who is now visiting here, received Mayor Chen Kung-po of Shanghai at the former's quarters at the Broadway Mansion at 11 a.m. today.

Mayor Chen reported the progress in the construction of New Shanghai since the retrocession of the International Settlement, and later conversed freely on the fundamental policies in the administration of the municipality.

At 4 p.m., Ambassador Tani conferred with Finance Minister Chou Fu-hai and concluded important talks concerning the purchase of cotton and other vital economic problems.

27 Reported Downed

Domei

BERLIN, September 4.—Fuehrer's Headquarters announced at noon today that British air forces bombed Berlin on the night of September 3. It was also announced that out of the attacking planes 27 were downed by the German forces.

CHIT IMPRESSED BY JAPAN'S POWER

Deputy Defense Minister Heading Thai Mission Inspects Army, Navy Forces

STATE GEARED FOR WAR

Entire Department of National Life Like Well Geared Machine, Says Chief

Fine impression of the dynamic strength of the Japanese Fighting Forces and the bravery of the Japanese soldiers was voiced by Lieutenant-General Phichit Kriangsak-Phichit, Deputy Minister of Defense of Thailand and head of the Thai Military Mission now on a visit here, in an interview on Friday.

"We had the opportunity of thoroughly inspecting the Army, Navy and Air Forces of Japan and were impressed by their superior might," declared Lieutenant-General Kriangsak-Phichit. "We were also struck by the Japanese soldiers' spirit of bravery and fortitude which are the most important factors in actual warfare.

"While the invincible Japanese Forces are guarding the extensive region of Greater East Asia, the home fronters of this country are concentrating their total efforts on discharging wartime duties," the Thai General observed, adding that the public seemed to him to be morally strong enough to meet any contingency. "The whole picture of wartime Japan," he said, "gave us the impression that each and every department of Japan's national machinery is prepared to fight this war to the very end."

When queried if he had any plan in mind for further cementing the military collaboration between Japan and Thailand, the General declared that, naturally, Thailand has plans for cooperating with Japan militarily and in other fields as well.

The Thai officer expressed his gratitude toward the Japanese Army and Navy authorities concerned and the public in general for the very cordial reception they have tendered the members of the military mission during their stay in Japan. "We have been especially struck with awe," he added, "by the gracious Imperial audience granted some of the party members."

Japanese Way of Thinking

(Continued from Page 4)

notice the general meaning of almost any poem from Manyoshu, for the sheer trouble of taking down one or another of the volumes from the book shelf. Not so in Nagaru's times. Nothing like a standard commentary nor yet a Manyo dictionary so called existed, and that perchance was why Mitsukuni had invoked Nagaru's assistance in preparing one.

The 'Unfathomable Depths'

In 1728, that is, more than half a century after Nagaru's time, Kada Azumamaro, in his famous "Keibun" (memorial presented to the Yedo Shogunate) declared that there were "only two or three men" who had any intelligent understanding of Japanese classics. If that was true then, conditions in Nagaru's time must have been worse; most probably he was the only man in all Japan who had any sense of classical learning worthy of the name. None appreciated more than he did the immense difficulty of grasping the original significance of words found in Manyo poems. He was a meticulous searcher after exact meanings of ancient words and was a very conscientious stylist himself. In some of his own purist verses he speaks of the "insurmountable height" and the "unfathomable depths" of Japan's ancient words, the very despair of his heart.

"Yuzu-kazura aoge-ba itodo takaki ki no
"Kiru koto kataki Yamato kotonoha."

(Looking up at the noble tree soaring high, one realizes how hard a task it is to cut the leaves of Yamata words.)

"Katsura-gawa kokoro ni kakeshi hito-eda mo
"Orarenu mizu ni mi wa shizumi tsutsu."

(Of the tree by the river I set my heart on, not a twig have I been able to take ere I find my body in the water sinking.)

Was it through design or a mere accident that his name happened to be what it was—Shimokobe Nagaru which may be paraphrased "To be washed down-stream along the lower reaches of the river"? It seems to conjure up the melancholy figure of a man being washed down a rapid merciless river, struggling for life against its overwhelming force. In many a language besides ours the literary art or style is often associated with the quality of running water, suggested by such words as "fluent speech," "clear, limpid style," and our "mizukuki" (writing-brush, literary composition, etc.) and it is possible that that Nagaru the eccentric may have chosen his peculiar name in response to some deep-cherished emotional urge of his heart.

(To Be Concluded)

DECISIVE WAR ACTION DEMANDED BY SMUTS

Sees Disadvantage Unless Started Now

Domei

LISBON, September 4.—Premier Jan C. Smuts of the Union of South Africa in a radio speech from Pretoria emphasized the fact that the anti-Axis camp would be at a disadvantage unless it challenged the Axis nations to a decisive warfare in the immediate future, according to Pretoria dispatches reaching here.

"The war has entered a stage when time is the foremost factor," Smuts declared. "Unless the anti-Axis challenges the Axis forces to a decisive warfare this year, it will be impossible to avert exhaustion of the anti-Axis nationals. The peoples of the anti-Axis nations must be prepared to undergo the maximum of sacrifices and a considerable loss during the next 12 months."

Axis Forces Blast Invaders of Italy

(Continued from Page 1)

have been on small scales as the Axis forces have not yet undertaken strong resistance.

On the first day of landing the anti-Axis forces established a bridgehead on the Strait of Messina coast. Parachute troops were landed in the rear of the Axis forces and further reinforcements seem to have been landed. Radio broadcasts from Algiers on the night of September 4 reported that powerful reinforcements reached Calabria without meeting any resistance.

Other reports indicate that the Sixth British Tank Division and the First Canadian Infantry Division made their landings in a sector between Melito, ten miles south of Reggio, and Cape Spartivento, 20 miles south of Reggio.

British transport fleets are said to have landed tanks, guns and other heavy artillery in Reggio port, and the anti-Axis forces have reportedly occupied the entire coast line from the vicinity of Scilla to Cape Spartivento. The American 7th Army, the center of attention at present, is still in Sicily.

The American artillery corps mounted their guns on the Sicilian coast and bombarded the Italian positions on the opposite coast. Furthermore, the anti-Axis forces are bombing Cosenza, Catanzaro and other airfields at a tremendous sacrifice. The radio facilities in southern Italy were also reportedly bombed on September 3. It is expected that the war in southern Italy will take on greater ferocity with the passage of time.

Defeat Faces Plan Of Anti-Axis Units To Retrieve Burma

(Continued From Page 1)

at the Quebec Conference his intention to intensify counter-offensive against Japan and the appointment of Vice-Admiral Lord Louis Mountbatten as the commander of the anti-Axis forces in southeastern Asia unmistakably point to the enemy's intent to unleash a counter-offensive against Burma in parallel with the fighting now in progress in the South Pacific.

Japan is fully prepared. It is a foregone conclusion that the enemy's counter-offensive will end in another "Tragedy of Arakan." The upshot of it will be the isolation of Chungking and the birth of Asia for the Asiatics. Japan eagerly looks forward to the enemy's re-advance against Burma.

Indians Struggle To Attain Freedom

(Continued From Page 4)

set up in India after independence. Whether she will adopt republicanism or totalitarianism is no concern of ours.

How far will India change after independence? Probably, the caste system will be abolished or, if it remains, it will be reduced to distinction between races only and not between professions. All other social problems will be solved. Among many changes that are bound to occur, the most notable will probably be the independence of politics from religion.

It must be remembered that India's independence will be complete the minute Britain is driven out. Rather, that minute will be the beginning of the arduous task of perfecting independence. The task will be attended by many trials and tribulations. It behooves the Indians, therefore, to rise resolutely and devote themselves heart and soul until their ultimate objective shall have been attained.

HARDSHIPS AWAIT ANTI-AXIS IN ITALY

Anglo-American Forces Likely to Encounter Opposition In Naples Area

Domei

LISBON, September 3.—Hanson Baldwin, well known military writer of the New York Times, in an article written before the anti-Axis invasion of southern Italy was announced, declared the anti-Axis forces are able to undertake an invasion of the Calabrian coast anytime with the outcome certain although they might encounter considerable opposition in the Naples area, according to a report received here today.

Baldwin reported two German divisions south of Rome, one near Naples and another on the east coast. He also reported there were considerable numbers of German troops which had been evacuated from Sicily, including those of the Goering Division, 15th armored and the 29th light motorized divisions whose exact whereabouts were not known.

He said the anti-Axis communiques indicated German planes were based on airfields near Foggia, Viterby, Capua, Bari, Cancello, Pomegliano, Darce and perhaps near Lake Braccina.

Baldwin revealed that it had been reported many German troops had been transferred from France but it was unlikely the Germans in Italy totaled more than eight to 15 divisions at the maximum. He declared there were at least 17 Italian divisions in Italy of which one-third was coastal divisions.

Advance Air Bases In China Destroyed

(Continued From Page 4)

entire skies of the vast Chinese Continent. Were they to steal in under the watchful eyes of the Eagles of our Army and Navy, the Americans must be willing to undergo great sacrifices. For, in the great Kiangsi-Chekiang Campaign carried out by our forces in August of last year, these advance posts of the enemy were subjected to such a devastating attack that they were unfit for use as part of his plans. And thereafter, too, each time he hurriedly rebuilt the facilities at these bases, they were visited again and again by our planes, making the posts advance bases in name only.

Within the enemy camp, there is much propaganda and wishful thinking. The greatest headache of the enemy is the problem of transportation of bombs and fuel to the air forces in China. Now that the most vital route of supplies to Chungking from the outside—the Burma Road—had been so effectively severed by our forces, the only other alternative left is the dangerous air route over the lofty peaks of Sikang Province from (Tinsukia) in India. Despite all the exaggerated propaganda concocted by them, the amount of materials which can possibly be transported over this route by cargo planes is extremely limited. After going through all the hardships involved to aggregate a little stock, these precious materials soon become a mass of ashes in the course of ferocious raids by our mighty air men.

910 Planes Brought Down

Domei

BERLIN, September 4.—The German military quarters gave out the following announcement today: "The American-British air forces lost a total of 910 aircraft during August in western and southern Europe. Of this number more than half were four-engined heavy bombers that were downed in raids over Germany and Italy."

U.S. LIBERTY SHIPS BADLY CONSTRUCTED

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, September 4.—A revelation of the serious defectiveness of the so-called Liberty ships was made by Henry Jackson, member of the Shipping Sub-committee of the Lower House, when he recently reported cases of shipwreck.

A Liberty ship, built by the Alabama Dry Dock Company, became unnavigable in a sea within the sphere of Axis influence on March 8 due to defects in construction and had to be sunk by bombardment by the United States navy.

The Hooker, another Liberty ship, constructed at South Portland sank on March 6 after going to pieces on the sea.

Then, too, there have been cases where Liberty ships had to go into dock for repairs, while there are a lot of other accidents of a less serious nature.

All these cases are traceable to defective welding, it is revealed.

The majority of the Liberty ships in which defects have been discovered have been built at yards along the coast of the Gulf of Mexico.

WINSTON CHURCHILL MEETS OWEN DIXON

Australia's Position in War Discussed

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, September 4.—Prime Minister Winston Churchill held a series of important deliberations in Washington today, according to a wire from the American capital.

Churchill conferred again with Owen Dixon, Australian Ambassador to Washington, this morning and deliberated on problems concerning Australia's position in the Pacific warfare and the participation of the British forces in the offensive against Japan.

Following this conference, Churchill attended the conference of the British dominions which was held at the British Embassy.

Churchill also conferred with General Sir Alan Francis Brooke, British Chief of the General Staff.

AUSSIES TO GET LESS GAS

Restrictions Set in Canberra From September 6

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, Sept. 4.—A restriction will be put on the use of gas in Canberra as from September 6, reports reaching here from the Australian capital reveal. Under this restriction, the use of gas will be allowed only during the following hours:

Week days:
From 3:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m.
From 5:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m.
Saturdays:
From 6:00 a.m. to 8:30 a.m.
From 11:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.
Sundays:
From 8:00 a.m. to 1:30 p.m.

The munitions industry, hospitals, hotels, restaurants, newspaper offices etc. are not affected by the restriction.

U.S. RUBBER CHIEF RESIGNS

Domei

BUENOS AIRES, September 4.—William Jeffers, United States Rubber Administrator, tendered his resignation to President Roosevelt today.

Although reasons for the resignation have not been clarified, it is learned that Jeffers will revert to his former post as the president of the Union Pacific Railway Company.

However, rumors opine that Jeffers has been made a direct sacrifice of the political turmoil in the inner circles in Washington.

MALACCA PROVINCE MAKES BIG STRIDES

Governor Tsurumi Says Self-Sufficiency in Foodstuffs Practically Realized

Domei

MALACCA, September 4.—"Malacca in days of British rule was known as Sleepy Hollow. Today we have changed it to a busy hive." So declared Ken Tsurumi, Governor of Malacca, in the course of an interview today with a party of journalists from Shonan.

He said that since the change of administration, Malacca has taken great strides toward realizing self-sufficiency in foodstuffs as now vast areas are under vegetable and paddy cultivation.

He revealed that hundreds of tons of surplus vegetables are exported to Shonan each month, while the monthly catch of fish averaged two thousand piculs. He added there were good fishing grounds all along the Malaccan coast now being utilized by Malai fishermen and part of this catch is sold in Shonan.

In addition, he said, the rubber and mining industries were also being worked upon with great success.

Governor Tsurumi disclosed the educational program was making remarkable progress throughout the state saying, "Often when I go out into the street, I am surprised to hear young children singing Japanese songs."

Mr. Tsurumi further revealed the system had been established in Malacca where teachers are trained along Japanese lines, while at the Officer's Training Institute 85 students from all parts of Malai are being trained to become future leaders of Malai.

He said the "mengkuang" work was being extensively carried out in rural districts by the industrious Malai people, who were manufacturing out of "mengkuang" leaves straw mats, hats, Malai caps, rope, and thick matting for packing purposes, while at the Telok Gadong paddy experimental station, 80 acres of land planted with different types of rice, including Malai, Taiwan, Burmese and Thai varieties, were under experimentation.

Early this month an agricultural training school was to be established with an initial enrollment of 120 young farmers who, after completing the course, were to be sent to the rural areas to instruct and guide the local cultivators, concluded the governor.

Oshima Visits Hamburg

Domei

BERLIN, September 4.—The Japanese Ambassador to Germany Lieutenant-General Hiroshi Oshima visited Hamburg to inspect the aftermaths of blind anti-Axis bombings on the city. He also made detailed inspection of the strengthened defenses of the ctiy and witnessed the sturdy, undaunted spirit of the inhabitants.

FOE PLANES DOWNED IN ATTEMPTED RAID

Effective Counter Attacks Foil Raiders

Domei

CANTON, September 4.—Still persisting in their attacks despite severe repulses by the Japanese Army air forces, a squadron of American airplanes, comprising of 13 P 40 type and nine B 25 type planes, again raided Canton district about 3:10 p.m. today. However, meeting the swift and effective counter attacks of the Japanese Army air forces they took flight without inflicting any damage.

Pursued by Japanese planes, fierce combats took place over the northeastern and western sectors of Canton. Two enemy planes were downed and other results are under investigation. In spite of the repeated attacks of the American planes, the general populace, placing full confidence in the Japanese Air Forces, are quite serene and composed.

TEAK LUMBER PRICE PEGGED

Domei

DJAKARTA, September 4.—To protect the livelihood of the fishermen as well as to develop the fishing industry, the Japanese Military Administration yesterday promulgated a decree fixing the selling price of teak lumber for the construction and repair of fishing vessels at 30 per cent below the standard prices.

The new regulation is expected to alleviate the difficulties prevailing in the past of obtaining lumber for fishing boats for their repair or for construction of replacement vessels which had been deemed most important in insuring the development of the oceanic resources of the southern regions.

32 Aircraft Bagged

Domei

BERLIN, September 4.—The German military authorities issued the following statement with respect to results scored in aerial encounters in southern Italy. "German high speed bomber corps, on September 3, attacked enemy units that had already landed as well as those on board transport ships in the Strait of Messina. Also 13 four-engined enemy bombing planes were downed in Italy. "A squadron of German Messerschmidt fighters in several aerial combats brought down 17 enemy pursuit planes of the Lightning type, and one Spitfire, while German anti-aircraft fire grounded one Mustang fighter."

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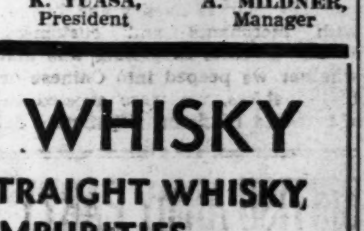

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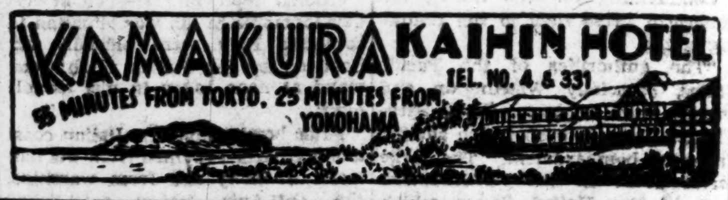

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THE ANGLO-U. S. VAMPIRES IN CHINA

Blood-Sucking Exploiters Trampled on Time-Honored Traditions of Chinese People—Made Them Sweat So Americans and Britons at Home May Live in Luxury

By TANG LEANG-LI

American Imperialism and deep-rooted contempt for the "colored" races and "heathen" peoples of Asia was first revealed in the Sino-American Treaty concluded in 1844, and the first Korean-American Treaty signed in 1882, both of which were undoubtedly obtained by fraud, and have had the most disastrous consequences to the Oriental peoples involved. It came out again in the massacres with their accompanying atrocities of inoffensive Chinese residents in the United States during the last three decades of the 19th Century, the American Government having ignored its treaty pledge to China of "most-favored nation" treatment and the right of men to "change their allegiance." Thus, it was only natural that the first Chinese national boycott in 1905 should be directed against the United States.

These things, however, are "past history" and all intelligent Chinese would probably be glad to let bygone be bygones, had the Americans altered their attitude of discrimination and exclusion. But this was not only never altered, but was made an official "national policy" by the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924. Chinese, like other Asiatics (though Asiatic Russians are excluded) are officially "unfit" for immigration, for residence or for citizenship in the United States. No self-respecting and informed Chinese ever forgets this policy of exclusion and discrimination by the American Government, and its various manifestations — "official" and "unofficial."

The right of the American Government to discriminate against aliens could not be contested—if there were no treaty stipulations to the contrary, and if the American Government acknowledged the right of the "alien" governments involved to discriminate similarly against Americans. But where such discrimination by America is in direct violation of treaties, and where the American Government does not hesitate to use the threat of gunboats and economic boycott against any interference with America's special privileges, or any hint of discrimination against Americans and American interests, it becomes a very different matter.

There Can Be No Illusions

There should be no illusions as to the nature of the friendship" purchased from the Chinese by the huge sums of money paid by the United States Treasury Department during past years. Had these funds been for the permanent relief of famine in China, for economic reconstructions, for schools and hospitals, for railways and public housing schemes, there would have been every reason for every public-spirited Chinese to be sincerely grateful, but when these funds were contributed specifically for the promotion of war and destruction in China, to cause death and chaos, ever-increasing famines in which tens of millions of Chinese have already died, economic destruction and bankruptcy, deaths by the million from war and pestilence—all for the glory of American Imperialism in East Asia—it is a very different matter. Every public-spirited Chinese acquainted with the real situation, and the manner in which America fiananced and promoted the Sino-Japanese hostilities which have brought such frightful and unprecedented misery and suffering to China, can only feel the most bitter hatred and horror for the Americans responsible for this malicious and inhuman policy.

The American Government, by its huge purchase of Chinese silver at high prices, has directly financed the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship in the present China affair. It has furnished, in fact, the principal financial backing and support for Chiang's armies. Besides this, the American Government has given real diplomatic assistance to Chinese groups supporting its policy in East Asia. For the past few years, until the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, it was direct American intervention, repeated again and again, which maintained the fiction of the Chungking oligarchical authority or "sovereignty." Indeed, as one of the most competent American historians, Dr. Tyler Dennet, has remarked with emphasis and obvious truth, that America is responsible for "the welter of evil that is now the Far East."

The "Open Door" and China's Sovereignty

If, therefore, today we find America as the main financial and diplomatic support of a discredited political group in China, and able to oblige other Powers to follow her lead, it is necessary to enquire into the actual nature of American aims and policies towards China and the Chinese. This must not be dealt with carelessly or flippantly with the use of such stock phrases and archaic slogans as the "Open Door" and "sovereignty and territorial integrity" of China. The use of these two phrases together is one of the most striking examples of the loose thinking in existence today, as they are directly and absolutely contradictory to one another. Every State that enjoys real sovereignty and territorial integrity has the absolute and unquestionable right to open or close its doors to any foreign country or countries. The "Open Door" represents an excellent economic principle, and tariff barriers are recognized as creating unnecessary difficulties and obstacles in international trade. America, however, dares not demand an "Open Door" in Europe and there is no indication that America is prepared herself to "Open her Door" and lower its own tariff wall all at the request of European or other foreign Powers.

This particular contradiction is an outstanding example of the superficial thinking and talking so common among the pro-Chungking pseudo-intelligentsia today. The American Government has repeatedly stated, in official declarations, that it stands for the two "principles" quoted above—which are in their very nature self-contradictory. If any Chinese desires real sovereignty and independence for China, he cannot possibly accept the idea of an "Open Door" arbitrarily enforced or imposed upon China by foreign Powers. And, if any Chinese is so depraved as to believe that foreign Powers, individually or collectively, have the right to regulate China's foreign trade relations in the interest of their merchants, the logical conclusion to be drawn is that he does not support China's right to independence and sovereignty, without which territorial integrity is as good as nonexistent.

U.S.A.—First to Secure Extraterritoriality

Here, it is perhaps not out of place to give in some detail the landmarks in the history of Sino-American relations. The American Government, it is worthy of note, was the first to secure a treaty openly and formally recognizing extraterritorial rights for its nationals, thus placing them completely outside of Chinese law and taxation. The published terms of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1843 did not specially exempt British subjects from Chinese law and taxation, this being covered by a secret agreement negotiated with the treaty. The British, of course, had no desire to share with other Powers privileges they had gained by force, and they agreed with the Imperial Manchu Government to keep this clause secret. America, however, in the 1844 Treaty obtained open and specific provision for extraterritoriality.

This privilege was gained by a method which can hardly be termed other than fraudulent. Opium was the most important and profitable import into China at the time, and the Imperial Manchu Government was doing its utmost to check it, but was prevented by the powerful British Navy so far as British subjects were concerned—the main, practical application of their extraterritorial privileges. The opium smugglers were enabled to operate with impunity, ignoring Chinese authority altogether. The new tariff forced upon China by the British did not mention opium, leaving it tax-free and beyond the reach of Chinese law.

The American Government, however, pledged itself unconditionally to exclude opium from its trade with China. The Imperial Manchu Government, not questioning American good faith, agreed in turn to grant extraterritorial privileges to the Americans. The latter privileges were promptly made effective, but the ban on opium traffic the American Government never enforced. In fact, the Americans became the principal smugglers of opium into China. Many Americans still look back with pride upon the exploits of the swift Yankee clippers along the China coast in the "forties and fifties" of the last century, peddling their poison for the pipes of China in utter defiance of Chinese law and authority, and in open and contemptuous violation of American treaty obligations to China.

American Infantilism

The Manchus, unfortunately, were too ignorant of the American attitude towards the Chinese to understand that this was inevitable. Some American merchants in China had some respect for their Chinese colleagues, but the American Government at Washington had none whatsoever. President Tyler's letter to the Emperor at Peking, drafted by Daniel Webster and carried by special Envoy Caleb Cushing, was one of the most amazingly insulting letters ever written in the form of a friendly official communication.

The insult, however, was unintentional. The letter with such phrases as, "I hope your health is good . . . The Chinese are numerous . . . The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not numerous . . . Now my words are, that the governments of two such great countries should be at peace . . . was written as if for presentation to a rather backward 10-year-old child. It was just what Mr. Webster, or his 8-year-old child, thought of the Chinese.

Fortunately for the Americans the Chinese officials were too considerate ever to present this kindergarten letter to the Emperor. But, however much indignation this letter may have caused to the Chinese officials, it did not tell them the real important thing, namely, that the "Christian" American Government did not consider the "pagan" Chinese Government as entitled to any respect in regard to the observance of treaties. The U.S.A. Commissioner Cushing, who negotiated the 1844 treaty, simply considered the non-Christian Manchu-Chinese Empire as outside the "law of nations." He said so in his own correspondence—though not, of course to the Chinese. And the American Government showed its agreement with his idea in actual practice. To "Christian" America, the "pagan" Chinese were one of the "lesser breeds without the law." Any promise made to them was simply a matter of convenience, to be broken at any time or at all times, being only some concrete advantage extracted by "Christian" shrewdness from the "heathen Chinese."

U.S. Privileges Numerous

The Americans gained, by their treachery in the making of promises and the tragic trustfulness of the Chinese, not only extraterritorial but other privileges. The British had secured the opening of four new ports to their trade. The Manchu Government, believing that the influence of other foreigners would offset British influence, obtained from Britain agreement that other Western merchants should also "be allowed to proceed to the four ports of **Foochow, Ningpo, Amoy** and **Shanghai** for the purpose of trade." Thus the Manchus and Chinese themselves opened the way to those whom they fatuously believed to be their friends. But this was insufficient for the American "friends." The British had seized Hongkong, and made it a British colony—a great bonded warehouse and distributing point for the whole China coast. It was hardly to be thought that the Chinese would give the Americans an island of their own to balance the British. In fact, however, the Americans gained what is known as a "diplomatic equivalent" for Hongkong. New port regulations, shrewdly devised by the Americans were provided for in the 1844 treaty, opening the way to coastal trade by Americans between the Chinese treaty ports. In relation to these ports, therefore, American shippers gained the privileges of an Imperial Power in its own colony.

All this, of course, was on the explicit and clear understanding that American merchants would not engage in the opium traffic. The American Government, however, never took the trouble to pass a law prohibiting opium smuggling by Americans in China. It had gained privileges; it had no intention whatsoever of observing its obligations. In fact, some of its "merchant consuls" themselves engaged in the opium traffic; they could hardly be expected to take action against themselves.

China's "American friends," in fact, were generously extended privileges far beyond those gained by the British through the Opium War. One of these was this possibility of American coastal trade between Chinese ports. Another was the right to erect Christian churches at the treaty ports.

Christian missionary work—as well as opium peddling—was further facilitated by a provision in the American treaty that Chinese could be legally employed as teachers for the foreigners (which had previously been forbidden) and Chinese books legally purchased. These privileges were voluntarily offered by the Chinese themselves, they having been favorably impressed by some medical missionary work. Thus the despised "pagan" Government of China extended to Christian teachers a friendly welcome and a toleration for which there was no equivalent whatsoever in America; a Chinese Buddhist missionary in America in 1844 would have publicly preached his faith at the risk of his life.

The British Government had not asked for special privileges for Christian missionaries. The East India Company was suspicious of the "vagaries" of missionaries, some of whom even disapproved of the highly profitable opium traffic—without which India would have been an economic liability instead of an asset. The first outstanding British missionary in China (Dr. Morrison) was refused passage from London on an East India Company ship, but was smuggled into Canton on an American ship and lived there as an American, not daring—for fear of his own drug-peddling country-men—to acknowledge his British nationality. Here again we have an example of the "good intentions" of many Americans at that period. Some of them sincerely felt they were doing the Chinese a favor by giving them a chance to adopt Christianity, and in the "glorious hereafter" to pull rickshas in the Christian Heaven.

"Most-Favored-Nation" Clause

The British had included, in their 1843 Treaty with China, the Machiavellian invention known as the "most-favored-nation" clause, Peking promising that any "additional privileges or immunities" granted to other countries should be extended to the British as well. By this advice, as Dr. Tyler Dennett has noted, "every nation thereafter could secure itself any privilege which had been extorted by some other Power from China by force, or tricked from her by fraud. . . . A trick taken by her most unscrupulous opponent counted equally for the benefit of all." The two methods, force and fraud, are clearly exemplified in the Sino-British Treaty of 1843 and the Sino-American Treaty of 1844 respectively. America obtained by fraud even more than England by force and the sacrifice of lives.

The Westerners as a whole, merchants and missionaries, became a privileged group in China, completely exempt from Chinese law and taxation and directly interested in seeing new privileges extorted from China by any of their Western colleagues. American policy became the policy of securing for its merchants and missionaries, any privileges extractable from China by any possible means. Americans took an active and prominent part not merely in the opium traffic, but in the "convoy" racket (extortion and piracy of Chinese vessels), and in the great and profitable "coolie traffic"—the shipping of kidnaped Chinese to the American continent, where they were sold as slaves. With the British Navy dominating the China coast foreign opium-trafficking, racketeering, and slave-dealing flourished greatly in the 1850's.

The American policy was one of maintaining China's "territorial integrity," while co-operating with other Western Powers in the extraction of new privileges from China and the reduction of China as a whole to as complete subjection to the Powers as was possible. Instead of the "partition" of China with Britain or other Powers establishing direct control over particular areas, the Americans stood for the reduction of China as a whole to the status of a joint-colony of all the Powers, with "equality of opportunity" to plunder.

Territorial Integrity

This has been, with occasional variations, the consistent policy of the American Government in China since the middle of the nineteenth century. The main variation from this policy is the "Open Door" doctrine. This "Open Door" policy, as expressed in the Notes sent out by John Hay in 1899 to various Powers, distinctly recognized the partition of China into "spheres" dominated by various Powers. These Notes were based on the idea of such partition—which at the time seemed only a prelude to complete political partition, as the British Government had already proposed (unsuccessfully) to the Germans in 1898. Secretary Hay sent his Note to the various Powers direct, ignoring the Chinese Government altogether and recognizing the actual authority of the various predatory Powers in their respective "spheres." He did not request relinquishment of their political claims; on the contrary, his Notes accepted these claims as a basis, asking only that the Powers engaged in these aggressions should adhere in their "spheres" to the principle of "equal opportunity" for all foreign merchants, applying the low, British-dictated Chinese Customs tariff through the British dominated Maritime Customs, and making no discriminatory harbor dues or railway charges. In these Notes, the American State Department abandoned almost completely the policy of China's "territorial integrity." The only "central authority" which was even implied was that of the British-dominated Customs Administration, which was recognized as serving the interests of all foreign merchants.

John Hay's Notes, however, were the expression of British rather than American policy. The British Government, which reserved for its merchants and investors by far the most profitable and promising "sphere" in China (all the Yangtze provinces, besides the great British colony and smuggling center at Hongkong, and the "leased" area at Kowloon opposite), desired freedom of commercial opportunity in other Governments' spheres as well, but could not well make the approach direct. The American Government, therefore, made the approach on behalf of the British—a part of the Anglo-American cooperation of those years, in which the British retired from the Caribbean Sea and relinquished it to American Imperialism and encouraged the American Government in the seizure of the Philippine Islands and the forcible subjection of the Filipino people to American rule.

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The "Open Door" phrase, curiously, has continued to be used, despite subsequent American opposition to the whole "partition" idea upon which John Hay's Notes were based. In general, America has adhered to the policy of China's "territorial integrity," rather than pinned their hope on an "Open Door" in a China partitioned among the Powers. The responses of the Powers to the Hay Notes, in fact, showed the appeal to be hopeless. Not a single Power unreservedly acquiesced. Even the British, however hopeful of such a policy in the "spheres" where direct political domination had not yet been established, had reservations to make about their own leased territory at Kowloon. The American Government might well have tried to forget this diplomatic fiasco, but the "Open Door" was too useful and "catchy" a phrase to be abandoned. Hay's Notes have been consistently misrepresented as a diplomatic "success," and his short-lived "principle" has been set forth as a "fundamental" American policy—associated with the contradicting principle of "territorial integrity."

Divide and Rule

"Territorial integrity" has involved another fundamental and vital American principle—recognition and support to weak and subservient Governments in China. A strong and united China, with five hundred million people under the control of a stable and effective Government, would need no foreign guarantees of its "territorial integrity." Such a China, however, would not be subservient to foreign Powers, who could hope for nothing better than treatment on a basis of equality. Neither the American nor any other Imperialist Government would favor the "territorial integrity" of a really strong and independent China, even if it could be linked with it in a friendly and equal alliance.

Dr. Dennett, who has already been quoted, has made this point very clear in relation to the Manchu Empire:

"After 1853," the Manchu Dynasty owed its powers in China not to its own vitality or the loyalty of its subjects, but rather to the fact that the foreign Powers had willed that it remain. Otherwise the Manchus probably would not have survived the Taiping Rebellion . . . .

"The Powers sustained the Manchu Government not because they respected it, but because they did not dare take the risk of permitting a successful revolution which would have resulted either in the separation of the Empire into fragments, or the establishment of some new vigorous central authority which, while restoring order and promoting the development of the country, would likewise have been able to set up an effective opposition to the encroachment of the Powers. To the latter it was most profitable to sustain a weak government which they could intimidate and control . . . A weak, disintegrating China made possible the continuance of extraterritoriality, an absurdly low tariff, and a hundred kindred privileges."

While all the Western Powers were interested in the sustaining of weak and subservient Governments in China, it was the American Government which was particularly interested in maintaining China's "integrity" under such Governments. The "separation of the Empire into fragments" was looked upon rather hopefully by the British, and by other Powers in a position to seize various territories for themselves in such a situation. The American Government, however, was debarred by its "democratic" organization, and widespread anti-Imperialist sentiment in America, from such seizures. As John Hay remarked rather regretfully, "public opinion of the United States" would not "justify this Government in taking part in the great game of spoliation now going on," as far as actual seizure of Chinese territories was concerned. Instead the American Government has usually worked consistently for cooperation among the Powers in the joint exploitation of China. Owing to rivalries among other Powers themselves, and to the ever-present necessity of reckoning with attempts by the Chinese to free themselves, the American policy has usually been successful.

American Intervention

The Americans were the first to propose, in 1853, open intervention against the Taiping Government on behalf of the Manchu Empire. Such a policy was actually put into effect in 1861-2, after the Powers had obtained a whole set of new privileges through the 1860 treaties of submission—treaties made not with the Taiping Government, but with the absolutely moribund Manchu regime, which in 1860 exerted no direct authority whatsoever south of the Great Wall. From 1853 to the present day, the American Government has thrown its steadily increasing influence—with comparatively brief interruptions—on the side of the "territorial integrity" of a China ruled by the most corrupt and subservient agents the Powers could find. President Wilson, indeed, refused to participate in the financing of Yuan Shih-Kai against the Chinese Republic, but five years later supported at Versailles the partial partition of China. But at the Washington Conference the American Government again came out firmly for China's "territorial integrity"—under any regime which was subservient to the new International Consortium formed under American leadership. In 1928 the American Government took the lead in financing General Chiang Kai-shek through the Customs—recognizing complete "tariff autonomy" for the Chiang regime. These enormous Customs funds were squandered on civil war and on high interest on loans by privileged lenders with official connections so that by 1931 the Chiang regime was completely bankrupt.

In 1935, however, the American Government devised a new method of bringing pressure on China, by means of high-priced purchases of silver smuggled out of China—a trade from which the Chinese Government itself was expressly excluded. General Chiang finally made secret terms with the American Government, which started the purchase of enormous quantities of Chinese silver. It was after the American Government, in July 1937, agreed to purchase unlimited quantities of silver from China, that General Chiang and his military associates decided on war with Japan.

American policy in China has become, in a way, defensive. It is determined to maintain all the privileges extraterritorial exemption from Chinese law and taxation, the privilege of participating in China's coastal trade and even in the commerce of her great internal waterways, investment and participation in great air-lines flying over Chinese territory, participation in the administration of the International Settlement at Shanghai, and all the advantages which foreign enterprises gain through Western treaty ports, concessions, and settlements on Chinese territory—privileges obtained by force, by fraud, by blackmail, bully and bribery of dependent and subservient Chinese Governments from the Manchus to General Chiang. In the meantime, America has increased her actual domination over China through the Chiang regime which is directly dependent upon the American Government which allowed General Chiang to plunder China of all available silver, for profitable sale to his America patrons.

Chiang—China's Supreme Gangster

While American enemies of the Peace Movement in China and the New Order in East Asia, who desire to see the present hostilities continue until both China and Japan are reduced to utter chaos and American Imperialism becomes triumphant in East Asia, have used the expression "gangster" to stigmatize adherents of the Peace Movement, the most notorious gangleader, the best-known and most influential in China is General Chiang Kai-shek. It was his association with the well-known Ching Pang (Dark Blue Gang) of Shanghai which made it possible to set up and maintain a regime in the Shanghai-Nanking area in 1927, and by terrorism, kidnapping, and "racketeering" to carry on until the Powers came to his support by open intervention in 1928.

To some extent, American influence was responsible for the emergence of "gangs," in the American political sense, in Shanghai. Prior to 1927, such bands as the Dark Blue Gang and Red Gang were essentially non-political, largely engaged in labor contracting—the supplying of "gang" of laborers in the ordinary sense of the word—and though it also had connections with anti-Manchu political bodies, these connections had been of minor importance.

It was their comrade Chiang Kai-shek, with his Anglo-American supporters, who gave the gangs political significance. When General Chiang in 1927 accepted foreign offers to desert the Kuo-Min Tang Government and set up a puppet regime at Nanking, it was his gangster comrades who dominated Shanghai and bloodily exterminated the opposition elements. In a military way, General Chiang was dependent upon the capable Kwangsi generals. His great advantage at Shanghai, however was his support not only from the Imperialist Powers but also from the "Dark Blue Gang." The Powers supporting General Chiang were supporting a gangster regime, which was able through its underworld organization to dominate and terrorize Shanghai as no merely military regime could do, even with foreign support.

For many months General Chiang's gangster-comrades supplied not only terrorism and violence, but funds. During the summer of 1927, the American and British Governments agreed to support General Chiang, kidnapping and extortion by the gangsters of Shanghai brought in more than $100,000,000. Well-to-do Chinese businessmen and bankers were seized outside the foreign concessions, or even kidnaped in the Settlement under the eyes of the complacent British authorities, and held for ransom until they "contributed" to the funds of the new "government." The pium revenue also increased. In fact, the Dark Blue Gang was not only the main "civilian support" of General Chiang's "government" at Shanghai; it was to a large extent the Government itself.

General Chiang, however, through his contacts with the foreign Powers and the military men, was not in a wholly subordinate position. The Dark Blue Gang ruled and robbed the Chinese areas of Shanghai—then and subsequently. Gangster Chiang was the indispensable middleman between the Gang and the foreign authorities who ruled the Settlement and Concession—and further between the Gang, the Powers, and Chinese militarists, together with a handful of former Kuo-Min Tang men who joined General Chiang against the National Government at Wuhan.

At the present moment, if General Chiang Kai-shek has been China's Gangster-in-Chief, so also is he the foreign puppet par excellence. In the spring of 1927, with the Kuo-Min Tang Government steadily extending and privilege in China was desperately on the defensive—the beginning of the end of foreign privilege in China generally.

The old Anglo-Saxon principle was that "only he should attempt to command who has learned to obey." The British considered that General Chiang had sufficiently demonstrated his capacity for obedience, and were willing to "take a chance" on him. The Americans were as yet unconvinced, but they were won over by the beginning of 1928, feeling that General Chiang was their most satisfactory puppet. Having "learned to obey" the Imperialist Powers, he was supported by finance and by actual intervention in his "attempt to command" the Chinese people. After the armed intervention which decided the fate of General Chang Tso-Lin's regime in 1928, the Customs began turning over hundreds of millions yearly to General Chiang Kai-shek's gangster regime—which was granted the "tariff autonomy" which the Powers had previously refused.

America's "Traditional Friendship"

In the light of all this, America's "Traditional Friendship" turns out to be a very hollow matter. "Traditional," says the dictionary, means "pertaining to, derived from, or handed down by tradition," while "tradition" means "oral transmission of events, opinions, doctrines, practices, etc., through successive generations without written memorials." In the case of America's "traditional friendship" for China, it is evidently "opinions" and "doctrines"—the "Open Door," China's "territorial integrity," etc—that are referred to, since "events" are conspicuous by their absence. This "traditional friendship," therefore, consists solely in the "oral transmission" of certain "opinions" and "doctrines" which can be construed as indicating American friendship for China even if entirely lacking any "written memorials" of such friendship.

In the whole century of Chinese-American diplomatic relations there are no "written memorials" which can be brought forward as evidence of American friendship for China. The first "formal" memorial which might be so construed was Webster's friendly letter, on behalf of the American President, to the Manchu Emperor, but as this letter was written in such a childish way as to show that the writer either had the mentality of a Chinese schoolboy of eight years, or assumed that this was the mental level of China's sovereign, intelligent Americans prefer to omit it as "evidence." The "Memorial" constituted by the first Chinese-American Treaty of 1844 is "evidence" of a different nature altogether, as this was not the work of an eight-year-old schoolboy but of a very keen and shrewd American diplomatic swindler, who succeeded in obtaining extraterritorial and other special rights and privileges in China on the false pretence that America would specifically exclude opium from trade with China—the latter promise having never been kept in any way.

Other Chinese-American treaties constitute similar evidence. The Americans were first to propose foreign intervention on behalf of the Manchus against the Taiping Kingdom in 1853. Such documents as the Burlingame Treaty, by which America obtained Chinese coolies for railway construction in the Western States and subsequently butchered hundreds of them, are also not "memorials" of the kind required by American Imperialist propagandists. Neither are the American Immigration Laws, the futile and fatuous "Open Door" notes of John Hay, nor the Washington Treaties of 1922.

In fact, "written memorials" of American friendship for China are entirely lacking. It is for this reason that American diplomats and other propagandists of ordinary intelligence prefer "oral transmission" of America's alleged "friendship for China." It should be added that "tradition" is recognized as a most fallible basis for belief. Many traditions are entirely false and based upon fiction; it is one of the tasks of modern historians to separate recorded facts from mere tradition; the propagandist, on the other hand, prefers "tradition" when he has no facts. Thus we have America's traditional friendship for China—a "friendship" without any "written memorials" or other evidence whatsoever, and consisting wholly in the "oral transmission" of specious phrases and fraudulent "doctrines," handed down "through successive generations" of diplomatic and journalistic crooks for the confusion of the well-meaning and ill-informed.

A study of the Sino-American treaty record shows that America, with a diabolical cunning compared with which British diplomacy is truly angelical and infantlike, seldom figures directly, never appears as the party taking the initiative in extracting privileges from China, but will always insist that she gets an equal share, and often more, of the spoils. "She wept," said Frederick the Great of Maria Theresa of Austria when Poland was suffering its first Partition, "but the more she wept the more she took." No country has been more ready to weep the same crocodile tears during the years of China's agony than America, and the pity is that the Chinese public were taken in by them, so that they regarded America as their best friend instead of their worst enemy.

In a word, American policy in China is aimed at the destruction of China. The financing of the hostilities which have devastated ever wider areas of China for over five years has not been an extremely heavy burden upon the American Treasury. Should America's policy be successful, enormous American loans would be required for the reconstruction of the devastated areas, with China turning completely into an American economic colony, her control being more extensive and oppressive than China has ever experienced, at the hand of any foreign Power. American Imperialist policy in China is thus definite and clear. It is, simply and terribly, rule or ruin. Or, rather, ruin and rule.

THE ANGLO-U. S. VAMPIRES IN CHINA

Blood-Sucking Exploiters Trampled on Time-Honored Traditions of Chinese People—Made Them Sweat So Americans and Britons at Home May Live in Luxury

By TANG LEANG-LI

American Imperialism and deep-rooted contempt for the "colored" races and "heathen" peoples of Asia was first revealed in the Sino-American Treaty concluded in 1844, and the first Korean-American Treaty signed in 1882, both of which were undoubtedly obtained by fraud, and have had the most disastrous consequences to the Oriental peoples involved. It came out again in the massacres with their accompanying atrocities of inoffensive Chinese residents in the United States during the last three decades of the 19th Century, the American Government having ignored its treaty pledge to China of "most-favored nation" treatment and the right of men to "change their allegiance." Thus, it was only natural that the first Chinese national boycott in 1905 should be directed against the United States.

These things, however, are "past history" and all intelligent Chinese would probably be glad to let bygone be bygones, had the Americans altered their attitude of discrimination and exclusion. But this was not only never altered, but was made an official "national policy" by the Oriental Exclusion Act of 1924. Chinese, like other Asiatics (though Asiatic Russians are excluded) are officially "unfit" for immigration, for residence or for citizenship in the United States. No self-respecting and informed Chinese ever forgets this policy of exclusion and discrimination by the American Government, and its various manifestations — "official" and "unofficial."

The right of the American Government to discriminate against aliens could not be contested—if there were no treaty stipulations to the contrary, and if the American Government acknowledged the right of the "alien" governments involved to discriminate similarly against Americans. But where such discrimination by America is in direct violation of treaties, and where the American Government does not hesitate to use the threat of gunboats and economic boycott against any interference with America's special privileges, or any hint of discrimination against Americans and American interests, it becomes a very different matter.

There Can Be No Illusions

There should be no illusions as to the nature of the "friendship" purchased from the Chinese by the huge sums of money paid by the United States Treasury Department during past years. Had these funds been for the permanent relief of famine in China, for economic reconstructions, for schools and hospitals, for railways and public housing schemes, there would have been every reason for every public-spirited Chinese to be sincerely grateful, but when these funds were contributed specifically for the promotion of war and destruction in China, to cause death and chaos, ever-increasing famines in which tens of millions of Chinese have already died, economic destruction and bankruptcy, deaths by the million from war and pestilence—all for the glory of American Imperialism in East Asia—it is a very different matter. Every public-spirited Chinese acquainted with the real situation, and the manner in which America fiananced and promoted the Sino-Japanese hostilities which have brought such frightful and unprecedented misery and suffering to China, can only feel the most bitter hatred and horror for the Americans responsible for this malicious and inhuman policy.

The American Government, by its huge purchase of Chinese silver at high prices, has directly financed the Chiang Kai-shek dictatorship in the present China affair. It has furnished, in fact, the principal financial backing and support for Chiang's armies. Besides this, the American Government has given real diplomatic assistance to Chinese groups supporting its policy in East Asia. For the past few years, until the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, it was direct American intervention, repeated again and again, which maintained the fiction of the Chungking oligarchical authority or "sovereignty." Indeed, as one of the most competent American historians, Dr. Tyler Dennet, has remarked with emphasis and obvious truth, that America is responsible for "the welter of evil that is now the Far East."

The "Open Door" and China's Sovereignty

If, therefore, today we find America as the main financial and diplomatic support of a discredited political group in China, and able to oblige other Powers to follow her lead, it is necessary to enquire into the actual nature of American aims and policies towards China and the Chinese. This must not be dealt with carelessly or flippantly with the use of such stock phrases and archaic slogans as the "Open Door" and "sovereignty and territorial integrity" of China. The use of these two phrases together is one of the most striking examples of the loose thinking in existence today, as they are directly and absolutely contradictory to one another. Every State that enjoys real sovereignty and territorial integrity has the absolute and unquestionable right to open or close its doors to any foreign country or countries. The "Open Door" represents an excellent economic principle, and tariff barriers are recognized as creating unnecessary difficulties and obstacles in international trade. America, however, dares not demand an "Open Door" in Europe and there is no indication that America is prepared herself to "Open her Door" and lower its own tariff wall all at the request of European or other foreign Powers.

This particular contradiction is an outstanding example of the superficial thinking and talking so common among the pro-Chungking pseudo-intelligentsia today. The American Government has repeatedly stated, in official declarations, that it stands for the two "principles" quoted above—which are in their very nature self-contradictory. If any Chinese desires real sovereignty and independence for China, he cannot possibly accept the idea of an "Open Door" arbitrarily enforced or imposed upon China by foreign Powers. And, if any Chinese is so depraved as to believe that foreign Powers, individually or collectively, have the right to regulate China's foreign trade relations in the interest of their merchants, the logical conclusion to be drawn is that he does not support China's right to independence and sovereignty, without which territorial integrity is as good as non-existent.

U.S.A.—First to Secure Extraterritoriality

Here, it is perhaps not out of place to give in some detail the landmarks in the history of Sino-American relations. The American Government, it is worthy of note, was the first to secure a treaty openly and formally recognizing extraterritorial rights for its nationals, thus placing them completely outside of Chinese law and taxation. The published terms of the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of 1843 did not specially exempt British subjects from Chinese law and taxation, this being covered by a secret agreement negotiated with the treaty. The British, of course, had no desire to share with other Powers privileges they had gained by force, and they agreed with the Imperial Manchu Government to keep this clause secret. America, however, in the 1844 Treaty obtained open and specific provision for extraterritoriality.

This privilege was gained by a method which can hardly be termed other than fraudulent. Opium was the most important and profitable import into China at the time, and the Imperial Manchu Government was doing its utmost to check it, but was prevented by the powerful British Navy so far as British subjects were concerned—the main, practical application of their extraterritorial privileges. The opium smugglers were enabled to operate with impunity, ignoring Chinese authority altogether. The new tariff forced upon China by the British did not mention opium, leaving it tax-free and beyond the reach of Chinese law.

The American Government, however, pledged itself unconditionally to exclude opium from its trade with China. The Imperial Manchu Government, not questioning American good faith, agreed in turn to grant extraterritorial privileges to the Americans. The latter privileges were promptly made effective, but the ban on opium traffic the American Government never enforced. In fact, the Americans became the principal smugglers of opium into China. Many Americans still look back with pride upon the exploits of the swift Yankee clippers along the China coast in the "forties and fifties" of the last century, peddling their poison for the pipes of China in utter defiance of Chinese law and authority, and in open and contemptuous violation of American treaty obligations to China.

American Infantilism

The Manchus, unfortunately, were too ignorant of the American attitude towards the Chinese to understand that this was inevitable. Some American merchants in China had some respect for their Chinese colleagues, but the American Government at Washington had none whatsoever. President Tyler's letter to the Emperor at Peking, drafted by Daniel Webster and carried by special Envoy Caleb Cushing, was one of the most amazingly insulting letters ever written in the form of a friendly official communication.

The insult, however, was unintentional. The letter with such phrases as, "I hope your health is good . . . The Chinese are numerous . . . The twenty-six United States are as large as China, though our people are not numerous . . . Now my words are, that the governments of two such great countries should be at peace . . . was written as if for presentation to a rather backward 10-year-old child. It was just what Mr. Webster, or his 8-year-old child, thought of the Chinese.

Fortunately for the Americans the Chinese officials were too considerate ever to present this kindergarten letter to the Emperor. But, however much indignation this letter may have caused to the Chinese officials, it did not tell them the real important thing, namely, that the "Christian" American Government did not consider the "pagan" Chinese Government as entitled to any respect in regard to the observance of treaties. The U.S.A. Commissioner Cushing, who negotiated the 1844 treaty, simply considered the non-Christian Manchu-Chinese Empire as outside the "law of nations." He said so in his own correspondence—though not, of course to the Chinese. And the American Government showed its agreement with his idea in actual practice. To "Christian" America, the "pagan" Chinese were one of the "lesser breeds without the law." Any promise made to them was simply a matter of convenience, to be broken at any time or at all times, being only some concrete advantage extracted by "Christian" shrewdness from the "heathen Chinese."

U.S. Privileges Numerous

The Americans gained, by their treachery in the making of promises and the tragic trustfulness of the Chinese, not only extraterritorial but other privileges. The British had secured the opening of four new ports to their trade. The Manchu Government, believing that the influence of other foreigners would offset British influence, obtained from Britain agreement that other Western merchants should also "be allowed to proceed to the four ports of Foochow, Ningpo, Amoy and Shanghai for the purpose of trade." Thus the Manchus and Chinese themselves opened the way to those whom they fatuously believed to be their friends. But this was insufficient for the American "friends." The British had seized Hongkong, and made it a British colony—a great bonded warehouse and distributing point for the whole China coast. It was hardly to be thought that the Chinese would give the Americans an island of their own to balance the British. In fact, however, the Americans gained what is known as a "diplomatic equivalent" for Hongkong. New port regulations, shrewdly devised by the Americans were provided for in the 1844 treaty, opening the way to coastal trade by Americans between the Chinese treaty ports. In relation to these ports, therefore, American shippers gained the privileges of an Imperial Power in its own colony.

All this, of course, was on the explicit and clear understanding that American merchants would not engage in the opium traffic. The American Government, however, never took the trouble to pass a law prohibiting opium smuggling by Americans in China. It had gained privileges; it had no intention whatsoever of observing its obligations. In fact, some of its "merchant consuls" themselves engaged in the opium traffic; they could hardly be expected to take action against themselves.

China's "American friends," in fact, were generously extended privileges far beyond those gained by the British through the Opium War. One of these was this possibility of American coastal trade between Chinese ports. Another was the right to erect Christian churches at the treaty ports.

Christian missionary work—as well as opium peddling—was further facilitated by a provision in the American treaty that Chinese could be legally employed as teachers for the foreigners (which had previously been forbidden) and Chinese books legally purchased. These privileges were voluntarily offered by the Chinese themselves, they having been favorably impressed by some medical missionary work. Thus the despised "pagan" Government of China extended to Christian teachers a friendly welcome and a toleration for which there was no equivalent whatsoever in America; a Chinese Buddhist missionary in America in 1844 would have publicly preached his faith at the risk of his life.

The British Government had not asked for special privileges for Christian missionaries. The East India Company was suspicious of the "vagaries" of missionaries, some of whom even disapproved of the highly profitable opium traffic—without which India would have been an economic liability instead of an asset. The first outstanding British missionary in China (Dr. Morrison) was refused passage from London on an East India Company ship, but was smuggled into Canton on an American ship and lived there as an American, not daring—for fear of his own drug-peddling country-men—to acknowledge his British nationality. Here again we have an example of the "good intentions" of many Americans at that period. Some of them sincerely felt they were doing the Chinese a favor by giving them a chance to adopt Christianity, and in the "glorious hereafter" to pull rickshas in the Christian Heaven.

"Most-Favored-Nation" Clause

The British had included, in their 1843 Treaty with China, the Machiavellian invention known as the "most-favored-nation" clause, Peking promising that any "additional privileges or immunities" granted to other countries should be extended to the British as well. By this advice, as Dr. Tyler Dennett has noted, "every nation thereafter could secure itself any privilege which had been extorted by some other Power from China by force, or tricked from her by fraud. . . . A trick taken by her most unscrupulous opponent counted equally for the benefit of all." The two methods, force and fraud, are clearly exemplified in the Sino-British Treaty of 1843 and the Sino-American Treaty of 1844 respectively. America obtained by fraud even more than England by force and the sacrifice of lives.

The Westerners as a whole, merchants and missionaries, became a privileged group in China, completely exempt from Chinese law and taxation and directly interested in seeing new privileges extorted from China by any of their Western colleagues. American policy became the policy of securing for its merchants and missionaries any privileges extractable from China by any possible means. Americans took an active and prominent part not merely in the opium traffic, but in the "convoy" racket (extortion and piracy of Chinese vessels), and in the great and profitable "coolie traffic"—the shipping of kidnaped Chinese to the American continent, where they were sold as slaves. With the British Navy dominating the China coast foreign opium-trafficking, racketeering, and slave-dealing flourished greatly in the 1850's.

The American policy was one of maintaining China's "territorial integrity," while co-operating with other Western Powers in the extraction of new privileges from China and the reduction of China as a whole to as complete subjection to the Powers as was possible. Instead of the "partition" of China with Britain or other Powers establishing direct control over particular areas, the Americans stood for the reduction of China as a whole to the status of a joint-colony of all the Powers, with "equality of opportunity" to plunder.

Territorial Integrity

This has been, with occasional variations, the consistent policy of the American Government in China since the middle of the nineteenth century. The main variation from this policy is the "Open Door" doctrine. This "Open Door" policy, as expressed in the Notes sent out by John Hay in 1899 to various Powers, distinctly recognized the partition of China into "spheres" dominated by various Powers. These Notes were based on the idea of such partition—which at the time seemed only a prelude to complete political partition, as the British Government had already proposed (unsuccessfully) to the Germans in 1898. Secretary Hay sent his Note to the various Powers direct, ignoring the Chinese Government altogether and recognizing the actual authority of the various predatory Powers in their respective "spheres." He did not request relinquishment of their political claims; on the contrary, his Notes accepted these claims as a basis, asking only that the Powers engaged in these aggressions should adhere in their "spheres" to the principle of "equal opportunity" for all foreign merchants, applying the low, British-dictated Chinese Customs tariff through the British dominated Maritime Customs, and making no discriminatory harbor dues or railway charges. In these Notes, the American State Department abandoned almost completely the policy of China's "territorial integrity." The only "central authority" which was even implied was that of the British-dominated Customs Administration, which was recognized as serving the interests of all foreign merchants.

John Hay's Notes, however, were the expression of British rather than American policy. The British Government, which reserved for its merchants and investors by far the most profitable and promising "sphere" in China (all the Yangtze provinces, besides the great British colony and smuggling center at Hongkong, and the "leased" area at Kowloon opposite), desired freedom of commercial opportunity in other Governments' spheres as well, but could not well make the approach direct. The American Government, therefore, made the approach on behalf of the British—a part of the Anglo-American cooperation of those years, in which the British retired from the Caribbean Sea and relinquished it to American Imperialism and encouraged the American Government in the seizure of the Philippine Islands and the forcible subjection of the Filipino people to American rule.

The "Open Door" phrase, curiously, has continued to be used, despite subsequent American opposition to the whole "partition" idea upon which John Hay's Notes were based. In general, America has adhered to the policy of China's "territorial integrity," rather than pinned their hope on an "Open Door" in a China partitioned among the Powers. The responses of the Powers to the Hay Notes, in fact, showed the appeal to be hopeless. Not a single Power unreservedly acquiesced. Even the British, however hopeful of such a policy in the "spheres" where direct political domination had not yet been established, had reservations to make about their own leased territory at Kowloon. The American Government might well have tried to forget this diplomatic fiasco, but the "Open Door" was too useful and "catchy" a phrase to be abandoned. Hay's Notes have been consistently misrepresented as a diplomatic "success," and his short-lived "principle" has been set forth as a "fundamental" American policy—associated with the contradicting principle of "territorial integrity."

Divide and Rule

"Territorial integrity" has involved another fundamental and vital American principle—recognition and support to weak and subservient Governments in China. A strong and united China, with five hundred million people under the control of a stable and effective Government, would need no foreign guarantees of its "territorial integrity." Such a China, however, would not be subservient to foreign Powers, who could hope for nothing better than treatment on a basis of equality. Neither the American nor any other Imperialist Government would favor the "territorial integrity" of a really strong and independent China, even if it could be linked with it in a friendly and equal alliance.

Dr. Dennett, who has already been quoted, has made this point very clear in relation to the Manchu Empire:

"After 1853," the Manchu Dynasty owed its powers in China not to its own vitality or the loyalty of its subjects, but rather to the fact that the foreign Powers had willed that it remain. Otherwise the Manchus probably would not have survived the Taiping Rebellion . . .

"The Powers sustained the Manchu Government not because they respected it, but because they did not dare take the risk of permitting a successful revolution which would have resulted either in the separation of the Empire into fragments, or the establishment of some new vigorous central authority which, while restoring order and promoting the development of the country, would likewise have been able to set up an effective opposition to the encroachment of the Powers. To the latter it was most profitable to sustain a weak government which they could intimidate and control . . . A weak, disintegrating China made possible the continuance of extraterritoriality, an absurdly low tariff, and a hundred kindred privileges."

While all the Western Powers were interested in the sustaining of weak and subservient Governments in China, it was the American Government which was particularly interested in maintaining China's "integrity" under such Governments. The "separation of the Empire into fragments" was looked upon rather hopefully by the British, and by other Powers in a position to seize various territories for themselves in such a situation. The American Government, however, was debarred by its "democratic" organization, and widespread anti-Imperialist sentiment in America, from such seizures. As John Hay remarked rather regretfully, "public opinion of the United States" would not "justify this Government in taking part in the great game of spoliation now going on," as far as actual seizure of Chinese territories was concerned. Instead the American Government has usually worked consistently for cooperation among the Powers in the joint exploitation of China. Owing to rivalries among other Powers themselves, and to the ever-present necessity of reckoning with attempts by the Chinese to free themselves, the American policy has usually been successful.

American Intervention

The Americans were the first to propose, in 1853, open intervention against the Taiping Government on behalf of the Manchu Empire. Such a policy was actually put into effect in 1861-2, after the Powers had obtained a whole set of new privileges through the 1860 treaties of submission—treaties made not with the Taiping Government, but with the absolutely moribund Manchu regime, which in 1860 exerted no direct authority whatsoever south of the Great Wall. From 1853 to the present day, the American Government has thrown its steadily increasing influence—with comparatively brief interruptions—on the side of the "territorial integrity" of a China ruled by the most corrupt and subservient agents the Powers could find. President Wilson, indeed, refused to participate in the financing of Yuan Shih-Kai against the Chinese Republic, but five years later supported at Versailles the partial partition of China. But at the Washington Conference the American Government again came out firmly for China's "territorial integrity"—under any regime which was subservient to the new International Consortium formed under American leadership. In 1928 the American Government took the lead in financing General Chiang Kai-shek through the Customs—recognizing complete "tariff autonomy" for the Chiang regime. These enormous Customs funds were squandered on civil war and on high interest on loans by privileged lenders with official connections so that by 1931 the Chiang regime was completely bankrupt.

In 1935, however, the American Government devised a new method of bringing pressure on China, by means of high-priced purchases of silver smuggled out of China—a trade from which the Chinese Government itself was expressly excluded. General Chiang finally made secret terms with the American Government, which started the purchase of enormous quantities of Chinese silver. It was after the American Government, in July 1937, agreed to purchase unlimited quantities of silver from China, that General Chiang and his military associates decided on war with Japan.

American policy in China has become, in a way, defensive. It is determined to maintain all the privileges extraterritorial exemption from Chinese law and taxation, the privilege of participating in China's coastal trade and even in the commerce of her great internal waterways, investment and participation in great air-lines flying over Chinese territory, participation in the administration of the International Settlement at Shanghai, and all the advantages which foreign enterprises gain through Western treaty ports, concessions, and settlements on Chinese territory—privileges obtained by force, by fraud, by blackmail, bully and bribery of dependent and subservient Chinese Governments from the Manchus to General Chiang. In the meantime, America has increased her actual domination over China through the Chiang regime which is directly dependent upon the American Government which allowed General Chiang to plunder China of all available silver, for profitable sale to his America patrons.

Chiang—China's Supreme Gangster

While American enemies of the Peace Movement in China and the New Order in East Asia, who desire to see the present hostilities continue until both China and Japan are reduced to utter chaos and American Imperialism becomes triumphant in East Asia, have used the expression "gangster" to stigmatize adherents of the Peace Movement, the most notorious gangleader, the best-known and most influential in China is General Chiang Kai-shek. It was his association with the well-known Ching Pang (Dark Blue Gang) of Shanghai which made it possible to set up and maintain a regime in the Shanghai-Nanking area in 1927, and by terrorism, kidnapping, and "racketeering" to carry on until the Powers came to his support by open intervention in 1928.

To some extent, American influence was responsible for the emergence of "gangs," in the American political sense, in Shanghai. Prior to 1927, such bands as the Dark Blue Gang and Red Gang were essentially non-political, largely engaged in labor contracting—the supplying of "gang" of laborers in the ordinary sense of the word—and though it also had connections with anti-Manchu political bodies, these connections had been of minor importance.

It was their comrade Chiang Kai-shek, with his Anglo-American supporters, who gave the gangs political significance. When General Chiang in 1927 accepted foreign offers to desert the Kuo-Min Tang Government and set up a puppet regime at Nanking, it was his gangster comrades who dominated Shanghai and bloodily exterminated the opposition elements. In a military way, General Chiang was dependent upon the capable Kwangsi generals. His great advantage at Shanghai, however was his support not only from the Imperialist Powers but also from the "Dark Blue Gang." The Powers supporting General Chiang were supporting a gangster regime, which was able through its underworld organization to dominate and terrorize Shanghai as no merely military regime could do, even with foreign support.

For many months General Chiang's gangster-comrades supplied not only terrorism and violence, but funds. During the summer of 1927, the American and British Governments agreed to support General Chiang, kidnapping and extortion by the gangsters of Shanghai brought in more than $100,000,000. Well-to-do Chinese businessmen and bankers were seized outside the foreign concessions, or even kidnaped in the Settlement under the eyes of the complacent British authorities, and held for ransom until they "contributed" to the funds of the new "government." The pium revenue also increased. In fact, the Dark Blue Gang was not only the main "civilian support" of General Chiang's "government" at Shanghai; it was to a large extent the Government itself.

General Chiang, however, through his contacts with the foreign Powers and the military men, was not in a wholly subordinate position. The Dark Blue Gang ruled and robbed the Chinese areas of Shanghai—then and subsequently. Gangster Chiang was the indispensable middleman between the Gang and the foreign authorities who ruled the Settlement and Concession—and further between the Gang, the Powers, and Chinese militarists, together with a handful of former Kuo-Min Tang men who joined General Chiang against the National Government at Wuhan.

At the present moment, if General Chiang Kai-shek has been China's Gangster-in-Chief, so also is he the foreign puppet par excellence. In the spring of 1927, with the Kuo-Min Tang Government steadily extending and privilege in China was desperately on the defensive—the beginning of the end of foreign privilege in China generally.

The old Anglo-Saxon principle was that "only he should attempt to command who has learned to obey." The British considered that General Chiang had sufficiently demonstrated his capacity for obedience, and were willing to "take a chance" on him. The Americans were as yet unconvinced, but they were won over by the beginning of 1928, feeling that General Chiang was their most satisfactory puppet. Having "learned to obey" the Imperialist Powers, he was supported by finance and by actual intervention in his "attempt to command" the Chinese people. After the armed intervention which decided the fate of General Chang Tso-Lin's regime in 1928, the Customs began turning over hundreds of millions yearly to General Chiang Kai-shek's gangster regime—which was granted the "tariff autonomy" which the Powers had previously refused.

America's "Traditional Friendship"

In the light of all this, America's "Traditional Friendship" turns out to be a very hollow matter. "Traditional," says the dictionary, means "pertaining to, derived from, or handed down by tradition," while "tradition" means "oral transmission of events, opinions, doctrines, practices, etc., through successive generations without written memorials." In the case of America's "traditional friendship" for China, it is evidently "opinions" and "doctrines"—the "Open Door," China's "territorial integrity," etc—that are referred to, since 'events" are conspicuous by their absence. This "traditional friendship," therefore, consists solely in the "oral transmission" of certain "opinions" and "doctrines" which can be construed as indicating American friendship for China even if entirely lacking any "written memorials" of such friendship.

In the whole century of Chinese-American diplomatic relations there are no "written memorials" which can be brought forward as evidence of American friendship for China. The first "formal" memorial which might be so construed was Webster's friendly letter, on behalf of the American President, to the Manchu Emperor, but as this letter was written in such a childish way as to show that the writer either had the mentality of a Chinese schoolboy of eight years, or assumed that this was the mental level of China's sovereign, intelligent Americans prefer to omit it as "evidence." The "Memorial" constituted by the first Chinese-American Treaty of 1844 is "evidence" of a different nature altogether, as this was not the work of an eight-year-old schoolboy but of a very keen and shrewd American diplomatic swindler, who succeeded in obtaining extraterritorial and other special rights and privileges in China on the false pretence that America would specifically exclude opium from trade with China—the latter promise having never been kept in any way.

Other Chinese-American treaties constitute similar evidence. The Americans were first to propose foreign intervention on behalf of the Manchus against the Taiping Kingdom in 1853. Such documents as the Burlingame Treaty, by which America obtained Chinese coolies for railway construction in the Western States and subsequently butchered hundreds of them, are also not "memorials" of the kind required by American Imperialist propagandists. Neither are the American Immigration Laws, the futile and fatuous "Open Door" notes of John Hay, nor the Washington Treaties of 1922.

In fact, "written memorials" of American friendship for China are entirely lacking. It is for this reason that American diplomats and other propagandists of ordinary intelligence prefer "oral transmission" of America's alleged "friendship for China." It should be added that "tradition" is recognized as a most fallible basis for belief. Many traditions are entirely false and based upon fiction; it is one of the tasks of modern historians to separate recorded facts from mere tradition; the propagandist, on the other hand, prefers "tradition" when he has no facts. Thus we have America's traditional friendship for China—a "friendship" without any "written memorials" or other evidence whatsoever, and consisting wholly in the "oral transmission" of specious phrases and fraudulent "doctrines," handed down "through successive generations" of diplomatic and journalistic crooks for the confusion of the well-meaning and ill-informed.

A study of the Sino-American treaty record shows that America, with a diabolical cunning compared with which British diplomacy is truly angelical and infantlike, seldom figures directly, never appears as the party taking the initiative in extracting privileges from China, but will always insist that she gets an equal share, and often more, of the spoils. "She wept," said Frederick the Great of Maria Theresa of Austria when Poland was suffering its first Partition, "but the more she wept the more she took." No country has been more ready to weep the same crocodile tears during the years of China's agony than America, and the pity is that the Chinese public were taken in by them, so that they regarded America as their best friend instead of their worst enemy.

In a word, American policy in China is aimed at the destruction of China. The financing of the hostilities which have devastated ever wider areas of China for over five years has not been an extremely heavy burden upon the American Treasury. Should America's policy be successful, enormous American loans would be required for the reconstruction of the devastated areas, with China turning completely into an American economic colony, her control being more extensive and oppressive than China has ever experienced at the hand of any foreign Power. American Imperialist policy in China is thus definite and clear. It is, simply and terribly, rule or ruin. Or, rather, ruin and rule.

Tang Leang-li is at present Director of the International Publicity Board of the National Government of China and Ambassador-at-Large. A political associate of President Wang Ching-wei, he has written a number of books on affairs Chinese. The engrossing article appearing on this page is taken from his latest work which will soon be published in book form.

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TOKYO, MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1943

The New Wage Policy

The wartime labor structure in Japan, reinforced by the fervent spirit of service with which all laborers are imbued, stands on an exceedingly stable basis. Meanwhile, the importance of labor to the national existence is becoming more manifest and reforms are being steadily carried out in the wartime social policy and in the control of labor. It is particularly interesting to note that an epoch-making reform is in the process of materialization in the wage policy, from the point of view of increasing the productivity of labor which is vital to the fighting power.

The Army has just decided to adopt the system of paying the worker by the month instead of by the day, at the workshops under its control where such a step may be deemed necessary for enhancing business efficiency, and it has given the necessary instructions to those in charge of the establishments concerned. This is certainly a bold stroke of policy, and it is confidently expected that the innovation will bring very good results. The workers at the army arsenals and other military establishments have hitherto been paid according to the scales worked out at so much per day on the ten-hour-day plan. Those paid by the month are confined to the limited number of foremen. Under the new policy, the monthly pay system is to be adopted where it is deemed advisable to do so, and an additional pay is further provided for in consideration of the amount of work done and the number of hours saved and other factors. The military authorities naturally expect that by the application of this system, stability will be given to the livelihood of workers and their business efficiency will be enhanced in consequence of a higher sense of labor service which the new system will inculcate in them. The new orientation in the wage policy, coupled with reforms in the control of labor, will, no doubt, stimulate the zeal of workers for increased production.

In private industrial circles also, earnest attention is being directed to reforms in the form of payment. It is, indeed, only natural, in view of the great national importance of labor, that steps should be taken to promote the security of living for the laborers who are engaged in production work.

Factories are paying their workers extra allowances of various kinds as the means of ensuring increased production, and this has added considerably to the complexity of the business of accountancy at all factories. A tendency has consequently been growing of late to convert these special allowances into regular wages. At present, the Ministry of Welfare and the other Ministries concerned are earnestly studying the reform of the present form of payment. Such being the case, the Army's new wage policy will, no doubt, set a good example for the industrial leaders to follow as an effective means of increasing production.

The present system of paying the laborers by the day exposes him to the insecurity of living, because utter exhaustion brought on by continuous and excessive labor is apt to involve him in disease or accidents which compel him to take a long rest from work, with the result that he is deprived of the source of income. It may further be noted that the proposed system of paying by the month accords with the established custom in Japan of the monthly settlement of accounts.

The present wage system under which labor power is, so to speak, sold by the day is on the Anglo-American pattern. It is too mechanical and prosaic, treating labor as a sort of commodity. Japanese labor belongs to a category different from foreign labor which is ever ready to go to a higher bidder. The Japanese laborer does his work as his plain duty as a Japanese subject. It is in accord with Japan's national conditions, therefore, to apply the system of paying by the month to all regular workers, brain or manual. Not only is this necessary for the stabilization of the national life, for the maintenance and cultivation of labor power, for the increase of collective labor efficiency and for the improvement of the national physique, but it will provide the sole basis on which the industrial spirit of devotion can be brought into the fullest play and an industrial structure peculiar to Japan can be established firmly.

That the new wage policy will reap excellent results in the management of enterprises is manifest from the experiences garnered by the private factories where the same system of paying the laborer by the month has already been introduced. Among the advantages accruing from the enforcement of this system are mentioned the following: (1) The control of matters relative to personnel is facilitated greatly, (2) enthusiasm over the improvement of machines and tools is considerably whetted, (3) the study of ways and means of enhancing efficiency is carried on with increasing earnestness, (4) the control of work is rationalized smoothly according to plan, (5) experts and assistant-experts are enabled to devote their attention to the discharge of their proper functions, freed from troublesome business relative to the fixing of unit prices, (6) discontent and grievances among the employes over inequality and unfairness of incomes are removed and the spirit of devotion and collaboration is inculcated, (7) the materialistic and individualistic idea of bargaining for better terms vanishes from among the workers and the sense of responsibility is aroused strongly in them of accomplishing, in close collaboration, the work allotted to them, (8) the tendency for workers to move from factory to factory diminishes, and (9) the rate of non-attendance from the effects of overwork declines and the collective business efficiency of factories increases considerably.

Japanese laborers are keenly alive to the gravity of the situation confronting their country and are cooperating, in the spirit of self-sacrifice, for the execution of the national aim. The new wage policy conforms well with this trend of labor sentiment, and will certainly do much to increase labor efficiency.

Fearlessness of Death

Our people are fearless of death; they are more or less fatalists. They sacrifice their lives as a means of justification for any wrong they may have committed. Again they believe in the possibility of accomplishing after death what they are unable to accomplish in this life, and they find in death the solution of problems they are unable to solve here. All this may be taken as due to the influence of Buddhism. Our people are inclined toward fatalism, being prone to believe that some power beyond them must be obeyed when they are confronted by a great obstacle, and to dismiss the subject with "Shikata ga nai"—it cannot be helped. Our parting greeting also suggests this. In place of "Good-bye" we say "Sayonara," which literally means "if it is so," suggesting that our parting is a logical consequence of what has preceded it. The word may be constructed more strongly than that and taken to mean "since it must be so,' or that a higher power than mine has ordered it, and the divine will must be accomplished, since there is no other way. Yet the people have wonderful power of perseverance in a noble cause, enduring intense physical pain and foregoing even the elemental needs of existence. The tale of the forty-seven ronin, illustrates this point.—(With permission of the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai. From Dr. Jiro Harada's "A Glimpse of Japanese Ideals.")

A Year Ago Today

September 6, 1942

While General Sir Archibald Wavell, Commander-in-Chief of the British Forces in India, has just been ordered to return to England and work out strategic plans to be applied in Europe, anti-British disturbances in India are being kept up in unabated intensity. A spinning mill was set on fire at Calcutta, and in Bombay a police force machine-gunned a surging crowd. Reinforcements of police and troops were dispatched to the northwestern frontier province to control the agitators.

* * *

Admitting that the United States is facing a most grave crisis, President Franklin D. Roosevelt, in a pre-Labor Day statement, declared that America's industries are not functioning properly yet. President Roosevelt warned America's working class that they should be prepared for worse days to come. There was a veiled hint in the President's talk that aggravation of inflation must be prevented by making sacrifices in wages, cost of farm products, profits and other means of assuring a livelihood.

* * *

Sirens screeched and Gothamites scurried for cover as New York and its suburbs had an air raid alarm today. The alarm was given on receipt of reports that an unidentified plane had appeared over the eastern coast of New York State. The all-clear sign was given shortly as the plane was found to be an American craft.

* * *

Enraged over the British oppression of the Indian populace, Chiang's newly organized Fifth Army, now in Assam, clashed with Chiang's newly organized Fifth Army, now in Assam, clashed with British forces, an exchange of fire ensuing. Surprised, Chiang Kai-shek issued "instructions" to the army. The Fifth fled to Assam, India, from Burma when repulsed by the Imperial Army.

* * *

The second Japanese-British exchange ship, Kamakura Maru, carrying 900 anti-Axis nationals from countries in East Asia arrived in Lourenco Marques today.

* * *

Great significance is attached to the decision which was reached today at the last-day session of the conference of Mohammedan delegates in Java to make united efforts to promote the reconstruction of East Asia.

ADVANCE AMERICAN AIR BASES IN CHINA DESTROYED BY JAPAN

U.S. and Chungking Airmen Unable to Get Along—Wild Eagles Wreak Havoc on Enemy's Plans

By NAOMI HASEGAWA
(From the Taiheiyo)

Scarcely had Lieutenant-General Chennault, commander of the American air forces in China, completed his statement this spring that, "Operations against vital bases of the Japanese will be resumed immediately with the improvement in weather conditions," then, on the anniversary of American Independence Day, he broadcast to the world, "By this day next year we will surely raid the Japanese mainland."

Though we need not be too concerned with each and every utterance of the Americans, who are so well known for their empty propaganda, we are able to see how desperate the enemy is attempting to place himself in a position from which to launch aerial attacks upon Japan and thus to retrieve his declining fortunes. Like a gigantic bow extending in the north from the Aleutians, to Hawaii, Midway, the Southwest Pacific, and from India to China, in a far-flung encircling counter-offensive front, the American air force is biding its time to spring into action.

The distribution of the American air forces is as follows:

First-Fourth	Air	Corps	American Mainland
Fifth	,,	,,	Australia
Sixth	,,	,,	Panama Canal
Seventh	,,	,,	Hawaii
Eighth	,,	,,	England
Ninth	,,	,,	Syria
Tenth	,,	,,	India
Eleventh	,,	,,	Alaska
Twelfth	,,	,,	North Africa
Thirteenth	,,	,,	South Pacific
Fourteenth	,,	,,	China

Not Simple Feat

And, of this list, those in position for possible direct attack upon Japan are, it goes without saying, the Fifth Air Squadron in Australia, the Seventh in Hawaii, the Tenth in India, Eleventh in Alaska, the Thirteenth in South Pacific, and the Fourteenth in China.

Strategically speaking, under the present war conditions, from which direction would the enemy plan to carry out his much publicized raid on Japan Proper? This is a feat which is not as simple as the enemy propaganda make it out to be.

Taking up the probabilities of attack from the north, a great distance of some 4,200 to 4,300 kilometers separate the enemy base at Dutch Harbor in Alaska from Tokyo, while there are 3,000 kilometers between his nearest base at Attu and Japan. Much too far for successful raids to be carried out by fully laden bombers of the model at present being used on a round trip flight, the only alternative open to the enemy is use of aircraft carriers. The same may be said of Hawaii and Midway, the former being 6,000 kilometers and the latter 4,200 to 4,300 kilometers away from Tokyo. To send aircraft carriers close to the Japanese shores is a strategy which involves too great a risk, one which must be undertaken with the willingness to sacrifice both carrier and planes. Also, enemy bases in India and the South Pacific, both some 5,000 kilometers from Tokyo, cannot serve the purpose for direct attack on Japan with the capacity of the bombers now in general use.

Kunming 4,000 Kilometers Away

Thus, the problem boils down to China. Though the distance separating Tokyo from the main American air base in China, Kunming, is some 4,000 kilometers, the Americans have, by hoodwinking the Chungking air forces, been able to make use of the numerous fields in unoccupied Chinese territory, in the provinces of Hunan, Kwangsi, Chekiang, and Fukien, as advance bases, and thus to appreciably shorten the mileage to be covered for raids on Japan.

It was only in March of this year that this American air force in China was formally established, by sacrificing the interests of its Chinese allies as part of its selfish counter-offensive strategy against Japan. However, it is quite some time now since, under various names, the influences of the American air forces first began to make itself felt in China. At about the time of the outbreak of the China affair, there was in the Chiang Kai-shek air forces a foreigners' Corps, consisting of a conglomeration of military men on the reserved list in various countries and employes of foreign aircraft firms. Among this number were many American pilots, who occasionally appeared in the fighting on the front lines and became easy prey of our valiant Wild Eagles. However, the relations between this group and the regular Chiang airmen were constantly strained, with incessant bickerings, so that it was soon disbanded, and many of these men were incorporated into the Chungking air forces as trainers of Chinese pilots and navigators of cargo planes.

Shortly before the outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia, the so-called "American Volunteer Air Corps" was formed under Chiang's command, which limited its activities solely to duties over the Burma Route, and when the hostilities finally commenced a portion of them, under orders from Chiang, was sent to the aid of the British air force in Burma. The Curtiss P-40 fighters, reported to have been easily overcome by our Imperial Air Forces during the Burma Campaign, consequently were of this group. With the establishment of the Tenth Air Squadron in India last July, they were put under its sphere of authority, as the "23rd Pursuit and Bomber Corps," thus for the first time leaving the Chungking camp. At the same time, men on the reserved list were enlisted once again into active service and made part of the regular American Air Force.

This March, with the growing strategical importance of the Chinese Continent, together with the clash between Commander of the Tenth Air Squadron Bissel and Chennault, head of the American air forces in China—rising over the dissatisfaction of Chennault with the inadequate amount of supplies of planes and munitions reaching him from the Indian border to the Chinese interior—relations once again were severed with the United States air forces in India, and a new American Air Squadron stationed in China was established independently under the command of Chennault.

Chiang's Hands Tied

At this point, let us study more closely the strategy of counter-offensive against Japan being planned by the Americans in China, who through afore-mentioned steps have finally seized for themselves complete control and authority over the Chungking air forces.

The main headquarters of the American air forces stationed in China is centered about Kumming in Yunnan Province. The Southern Air Field in Kumming is 1,200 square meters wide, large enough for giant bombers to easily take off and land. It is here that Chennault is dreaming his fantasy of raiding Japan Proper. There are also two other air fields in the outskirts of Kumming, while elsewhere in its vicinity, at Chan-i, Hsintien, Yunnani, etc., are more bases than can be counted on the fingers of both hands. But as these have from time to time received heavy damage at the hands of our Wild Eagles in fierce bombing raids the enemy has more recently moved further into the interior to Szechwan Province, making use of the fields in Chungking and Chengtu for the training of personnel and the conditioning of planes.

However, as we have pointed out before, there are some 4,000 kilometers between Kumming and Tokyo, and despite all the desperate endeavors of the enemy, he cannot hope to raid Japan Proper successfully from these bases and return safely, even with the highly vaunted Consolidated B24, North American B25, which are the mainstays of his bombing strength today, or with the possible use of the "Fying Fortress", the Boeing B17. Therefore, the enemy is trying his best to obtain for himself advance bases and relay points in the unoccupied parts of China, as close as possible to Japan.

Trying to Get Closer

The names of these bases have become familiar to us as the objectives of effective bombing attacks by our Imperial Air Forces, such as Kweilin in Kwangsi Province (700 kilometers east of Kumming), and on a line northeast from here, Lingling and Hengchow (both in Hunan Province), Liuchow (in Kwangsi Province), etc., which are the main relay bases. Evading the eyes of our patrols, the Americans occasionally migrate to these posts and, using the facilities of the Chungking air forces, they embark upon raids. But if course, it is no easy task to attack Japan, even from these points, and the best they have been able to do is to drop a few bombs on Canton, Hainan Island, and other closer places. They are scheming however to find the first opportunity to advance further east from these bases to Chuchow and Lishin in Chekiang Province, Yushan, Liuchow, and Kian in Kiangsi Province, and Kienow in Fukien Province, which are separated from Japan only by the strip of water of the East China Sea and by Taiwan. These advance bases they hope to use as stepping stones for raids on Tokyo, and it has been reported recently that they have begun to make preparations for facilities in Suichuan, Kiangsi Province.

But, when the enemy actually comes to the point where he is to use these bases for raids on Japan, there are many difficulties, aside from the capability of his planes, confronting him. The greatest obstacle is the presence of our mighty air forces, which have been built up in China during a period of fully six years since the outbreak of the China Affair successfully gaining complete control over the thousands of miles covering the

(Continued on Page 2)

JAPANESE WAY OF THINKING

Shimokobe Nagaru

By SANTARO
Of the Nippon Times Staff

Part II

The great majority of us, common people, are doing spade work so called, more or less, in preparation for another work, better or nobler, and it is only proper that we should, when our allotted task is done, quietly take our leave and be content to sleep in obscurity. The scarecrow is made much of till the crop is harvested; the undertaker is forgotten when the dead is buried; the go-between unwanted after the wedding. We are working hard, as it were, to make ourselves unnecessary. But such is an irony of fate that some persons find it as difficult to achieve oblivion as others do to earn what they call immortality. Of the notable characters in Japanese history many names will at once occur who in their lifetime had tried hard to "escape from the world" or "hide from the eyes of men" and yet so badly failed in their designs that their names must grow more and more famous with the lapse of years till every little detail of their lives is eagerly seized on and bandied about from lips to lips without end; Saigyo the wandering Buddhist poet and Basho the Haikai-master are among the best examples of this type.

An Anchorite

Shimokobe Nagaru was in this respect a happy man. He has done his utmost to "conceal himself" and fairly succeeded in doing so, to the confounding of all curiosity in posterity. He has played his part and that in his own way. He has deeply impressed at least one man, who in his opinion counted for anything in the world, with a proper sense of his personality, bequeathing to him, and, through him, to generations of his successors the dearly-beloved work of his which he was the first to inaugurate. For the rest he has kept from the prying eyes of the world all the facts of his own mundane life. "Here is what I have done," Nagaru seems to say with his grim sardonic humor, "and make the most of it if you will, but as for my private life, it is none of your business to poke your inquisitive nose about; let me sleep in peace."

We do not know, for instance, just exactly where he was born, nor where he died. How he acquired all his classic knowledge and from what teachers or books is also a mystery. The day he was known he was a learned man already. Like Lao-Tsze he was, as it were, born old. For some time it had been supposed that his ashes lay somewhere at O-Imasato, east of Tamatsukuri, Osaka, but in 1925 his admire's thinking it a pity that he should go without proper burial ground, erected a tomb beside that of his bosom friend, Keichu, in the ground of Enjuan temple at Esashimachi, Higashiku, Osaka. Wherever his body originally lay, people of Osaka now have a spot to which they may point as the sleeping place of Nagaru and save their face. We may also add here that the Taisho Tenno was graciously pleased in 1915 to confer upon him the posthumous honor of Sho-goi (Senior Grade of the Fifth Court Rank) in recognition, we presume, of the pioneering work he had done in the revival of ancient Japanese literature.

A "Lazy Dog"?

The brief account of his life, already quoted, may be regarded quite authentic because its writer, Ando Tameakira, was one of the Shokokan scholars who had more than once met Nagaru on behalf of his master, Lord of Mito, so he must have taken a good view of the eccentric scholar, and laid in a fair stock of personal knowledge about him, though like most other Kangakusha of his day, his was a literary style which disdained unessential details of life. From between the hold strokes of his little pen-picture, however, we feel we may glean enough to reconstruct Nagaru's character. It is unfortunate that whenever Nagaru is mentioned it is usually accompanied by the impression that he was a "lazy dog," or some "crossgrained old stick" who made no scruple about lying down or even going to "sleep on high pillow" in the very presence of visitors, if he did not like the look or talk of them, or one that would never do his duty especially when asked by high and mighty.

Such an impression would have been erroneous. To "know by heart" the 4,500 poems of Manyoshu, long and short, 1,100 poems of Kokinshu and some 125 anecdotes in rhyme and prose of Ise Monogatari—all this does not seem to constitute the internal evidence of tardy intelligence or chronic mental indolence. In his days it was not so easy a task as it may seem to us to write a plausible explanation on Manyo poems such as might satisfy the great scholars of Mito school. In our days, thanks to the thousands of "Manyo scholars" who have lived and labored since Nagaru's time, we may discover at a moment's

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INDIANS PUT UP VIGOROUS FIGHT TO ATTAIN COMPLETE FREEDOM

Gandhi Gives Up Non-Violence Method, Urges Countrymen to Use Force Against British

By TAISUKE TAKAOKA
(From the Sozo)

Japan's victory over Russia in the war of 1904-1905 awakened India from her lethargy and proved to be the first incentive to the independence movement. With the outbreak of the first European War, the movement became organized and nation-wide and spurred two major anti-British activities. The one is the political struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi and the other the Indian revolution drive abetted by Tilak.

When the first European War broke out, Gandhi was on his way to London en route home from South Africa, where he had succeeded in securing the abolition of the infamous poll-tax after a 20-year non-violence fight. A change came over his mind when he heard the news of the opening of the war. He made up his mind that the Indians, as British subjects, should stand by Britain after all. After rendering social services in London, he returned home, assumed the Presidency of the Indian National Congress and, in cooperation with the Mohammedan Ali brothers, caused the entire nation, regardless of religion or creed, to pledge loyalty to Britain.

Upwards of 1,500,000 Indian volunteered for military service on the European front, while monetary contributions poured in to the amount of 3,000,000 Rupees. It is undeniable, however, that the Indians were actuated as much by Gandhi's campaign as by a hope given them by Britain. The hope was the promise of self-rule after the war. Lloyd George had sent repeated appeals to India for positive help.

Promise Broken

Did the Indians get the promised self-rule after the war was over? When, early in 1919, the termination of the war came in sight, Britain, finding it impossible to make good her promise and sensing an Anglo-Indian frontal clash to be inevitable, had a law drafted by the commission headed by Lord Rowlat and wheedled the majority of the Indian National Congress into passing it, thereby legalizing her dastardly breach of faith. That was the Rowlat Act.

The Act was an outrage, pure and simple. It was a formula for ruthless repression of future agitations for independence. For instance, it prohibited the holding of lecture meetings by Indians except by Government permission, banned congregations of more than five persons each, and so forth.

From a staunch pro-British that he had been, Gandhi turned a lifelong revolter against Britain. The transformation was instantaneous and complete. Immediately he deployed an anti-British struggle. Here it may be in order to explain the nature of the struggle. Gandhi's immediate objective was not complete independence, but complete self-rule as a prelude to independence. In other words, he demanded that not only the provincial governorship but also the viceroyship should be thrown open to Indians.

Struggle Gains Momentum

Gandhi's struggle gained force rapidly and soon reached a stage where it would have wiped off British influence in India but for an incident. While a nation-wide agitation was in progress, an enraged crowd clashed with the police at Chaurichaura. A believer in non-violence, the Mahatma at once ordered a general cessation of the agitation and observed a fast to make atonement. Except for this incident, the British edifice would have been overthrown then and there.

Now a word about the revolution movement led by Tilak. He believed in armed action. An armed revolt was scheduled to be staged throughout the country with a raid on the military magazine depots at Lahore on February 21, 1915 as the signal. In sympathy with this movement, the Indian residents of Germany rose and organized the so-called Berlin committee, participated in by the Indians throughout Europe.

The Berlin committee approached the German Government several times, but the latter, lacking full knowledge of the Indian situation, had an idea that they should not give help freely unless the body was led by an Indian prince. For this reason, Raja Mahindra Pratap was appointed to head the committee.

After negotiations with Germany, it was arranged that 75,000 firearms, including machine-guns, be dispatched to India and that the tens of thousands of Indian war prisoners taken by Germany be given to the Berlin committee and plunged into India as an independence army. While preparations were going on, however, a traitor sprang up and this led to the wholesale arrest of the patriots, dooming their aspiration.

Similar armed revolts have been attempted since, but unfortunately they have miscarried.

The outbreak of the War of Greater East Asia gave new life to India's struggle for freedom. Especially, the reduction of Burma by the Imperial Forces influenced the Indian leaders greatly.

Between the end of April and May last year, the Executive Committee of the Indian National Congress held a series of secret conferences on the question of future Japanese military operations. The Committee knew, of course, that Japan is absolutely innocent of any intention to kill Indians or to occupy their country. It is only because India remains under British rule and is an anti-Axis base that Japan will find it necessary to start armed campaign. If, therefore, the Indians were adverse to having their country turned into a battle ground, they concluded, it was up to the Indian people to remove this necessity for military action by Japan. In other words, the Indians, single-handed, should drive out British influence and secure the exit of anti-Axis forces.

Such was the main topic of the discussions. In view, however, of constant changes in the world situation, the conference ended in indecision.

Later, early in July, a ten-day conference was held at Wardha, near the Mahatma's residence, and, after careful deliberations, a decision was reached. The decision was announced at a convention of the Indian National Congress held at Bombay early in August.

On August 6, the first day of the convention, the Mahatma made a 40-minute speech, in which he declared:

"I am still a believer in non-violence. But today force is necessary. It is time to stage an open revolt against Britain. I hope you will rise and use force."

Two days later, the convention adopted a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of anti-Axis forces.

Leaders Arrested

The British reaction to this was the mass arrest of Gandhi and other Congress leaders on August 9. In addition, the British lined up sundry mush-room Indian bodies to make it appear that only the Indian National Congress was revolting and that all other factions pledged allegiance to Britain.

The British scheme did not end there. They released Communist prisoners and allowed the resumption of the publication of Communist papers. This was done in the hope that the released Communists would commit anti-British violence to the dismay of Mahatma Gandhi, who the British confidently expected would order the suspension of all anti-British agitations, exactly as he had done in the case of the Chaurichaura disturbance.

But the British were rudely disillusioned. The Communist activities became absorbed in the Indian National Congress' anti-British struggle and a full-fledged revolutionary movement of unprecedented magnitude ensued. The situation went utterly beyond British control. That John Bull is aware of the impossibility of a compromise is attested by the recent appointment of Sir Archibald Wavell as the Viceroy. Britain will have no alternative but outright repression, but the severer the repression, the more violent will be the Indian struggle.

Quite unexpectedly, Subhas Chandra Bose arrived in Tokyo. "We must use sword for sword," he told the reporters by way of expressing his determination.

If any one should think that, with the Indians totally unarmed, Mr. Bose's resolve can be no more than mere words, he is oblivious of the fact that there are in India 1,000,000 trained soldiers. Once they turn their guns on the British, India will have a revolutionary army 1,000,000 strong. Besides, the bulk of the Indian police force has had military training. The Indian community throughout East Asia, 2,000,000 strong, affords another reservoir of strength. And there can be no doubt that the Indian soldiers and policemen will rally to the cause of India's independence.

Tojo's Declaration

Before concluding, I wish to refer to the Tojo declaration. Prime Minister Tojo in his declaration said that he sympathized with the Indians and that Japan would extend cooperation in their cause. The expression of sympathy requires no elucidation. The promise of cooperation was made, to my thinking, because Japan and India share a common objective, namely, the retreat of Britain and the withdrawal of anti-Axis forces from India.

Therefore, the Indian leaders are called upon, when independence has been won, to perfect the task of national founding on their own responsibility. They will not seek foreign assistance, nor will any third country propose to step in. Japan, for one, has no intention to interfere in Indian affairs.

It is not possible to predict what sort of political structure will be

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